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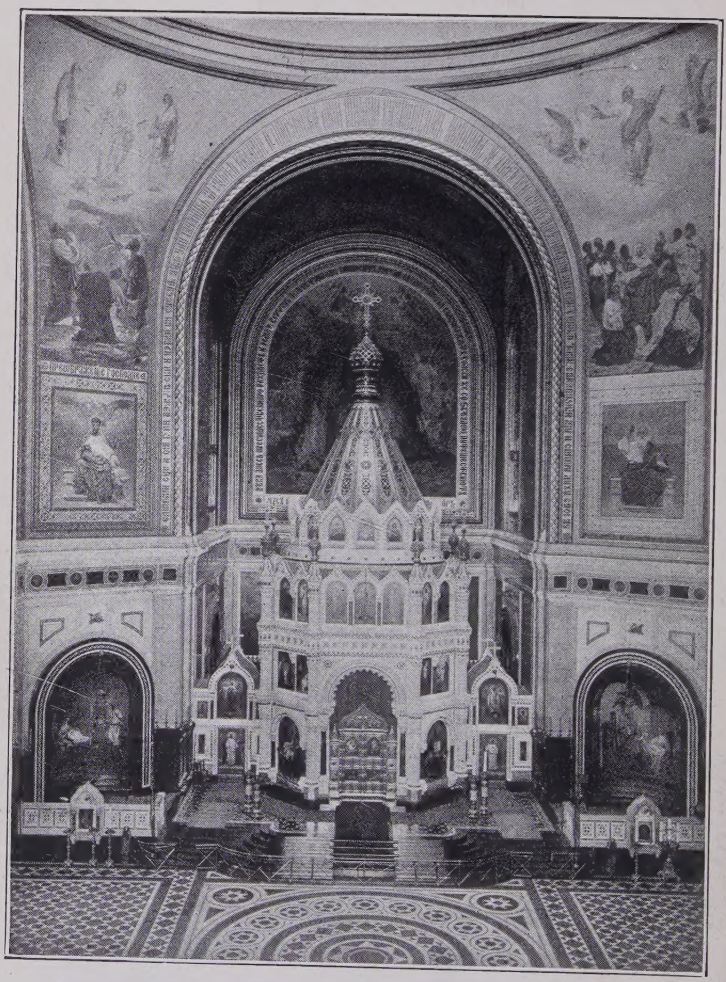

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR, MOSCOW.

RUSSIA AND REUNION

A Translation of
Wilbois' "L'Avenir de l'Eglise Russe"

BY THE

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TOGETHER WITH TRANSLATIONS OF

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ON REUNION AND ENGLISH ORDERS

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PREFACE

THE generosity of the Standing Committee of the Eastern Church Association enables me to submit to English readers the following translation of Mons. J. Wilbois' *L'Avenir de l'Eglise Russe.*

In his own preface to this work the author states that it is composed of the five letters which appeared each month from October, 1906 to February, 1907, in the *Revue Catholique des Eglises* under the title of *La Mission de l'Eglise Russe*, and that he has added to them the two supplementary chapters on "The Worship of the Orthodox Church" and "The Raskol and the Sects."

The title chosen for this translation, viz., *Russia and Reunion*, seems to express the scope of the work more adequately than either of the French titles; partly because the author has spent so much trouble in making clear the characteristics of the country and the influence which these have exercised on religion; partly because the survey of the Russian Church is itself wanting in completeness. It contains no reference either to the missionary activities of the Russian Church, or to some of the more pressing internal problems which now beset it.

It must be remembered throughout that the writer is a Roman Catholic, and the knowledge of this fact will make the views expressed in the last letter more interesting and impressive. In more

places than one where the author shows sympathy with or divergence from the Eastern Church, members of the Church of England who read this book will inevitably feel how much nearer the Eastern Church is to their own convictions than to those of the author.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. R. E. Gardiner for a most painstaking revision of the translation; to the Rev. L. Pullan, Fellow of S. John's College, Oxford, and to Mr. W. R. Morfill, Reader in Russian to the University of Oxford, for help with the translation and the illustrations; and for further illustrations to the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, and to friends resident in S. Petersburg.

These illustrations are a feature peculiar to the English version. There were none in the French original, and their cost has added considerably to the cost of producing the book.

Members of the Eastern Church Association will be glad to receive a publication which portrays so vividly the conditions of the Orthodox Church in Russia. Just because Mons. Wilbois treats his subject from the broad standpoint of human society, instead of isolating religious interests from the rest of life, his work is admirably adapted to further aims for which the Association exists.

C. R. DAVEY BIGGS.

S. Philip and S. James',
Oxford.
May 11th, 1908.

Eastern Church Association

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

(1) To give information as to the state and position of the Eastern Christians, in order gradually to better their condition through the influence of public opinion.

(2) To make known to the Christians of the East the doctrine and principles of the Anglican Church.

(3) To take advantage of all opportunities which the Providence of God shall afford for Intercommunion with the Orthodox Church, and also for friendly intercourse with the other ancient Churches of the East.

(4) To assist as far as possible the Bishops of the Orthodox Church in their efforts to promote the spiritual welfare and the education of their flocks.

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CONTENTS

LETTER		PAGE
I.	The Social Constitution of Russia	1
	The Russian Land	6
	The Life of the Russian Peasant	12
	The Life of the Russian Nobility	26
	The Influence of the West	40
II.	The Russian Spirit as the Product of Russian Life	48
	Moral Facts	49
	Intellectual Facts	63
	The Want of Balance	75
	Religious Consequences	86
III.	A Short Summary of the History of the Russian Church	91
IV.	Worship	106
	Simple Description	107
	Orthodox Worship and Russian Life	119
V.	Ecclesiastical Organization	132
	Statement of Facts	132
	Orthodox Teaching about the Church	150
	How the Russian Church is conformed to Russian Society	155
	The Church and the Faith	170
VI.	The Raskol and the Sects	181
	The Raskol	182
	The Sects	199
	The Schismatic Spirit and the Russian Spirit	210
VII.	The Future of Orthodoxy	217
	The Necessity of Union	217
	The Form of the Union	225
Official Letters		237
Books in English dealing with Russia		260
Index		261

BOOKS QUOTED IN THE TEXT

Leroy-Beaulieu—*L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes.*

Rambaud—*Histoire de la Russie.*

Boissard—*L'Eglise de Russie.*

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Demolins—*Comment la Route crée le type Social.*

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Morel—Art. in *Revue Catholique des Eglises.* Dec. 1904.

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Prougavine—*Raskol e Sektantsva.*

Schtchoukine—*Le Suicide collective dans le Raskol Russe.*

Severne—*La secte Russe des Hommes de Dieu ; Doukhabory v. Kanadié.*

Novitskii—*O. Doukhabortsokh ; Tolstoi et les Doukhabory.*

Soloviev—*L'Idée Russe.*

Calvet—*L'Abbé Gustave Morel, professeur à l'Institut catholique de Paris.*

Brunetière—*Sur les Chemins de la Croyance.*

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THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

RUSSIA AND REUNION

LETTER I

THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF RUSSIA

MY DEAR FRIEND,

However far away you may be your thoughts must turn to Russia. A momentous crisis is approaching there. I do not speak of politics, which are of no account. I am thinking of the war between the Gospel and the Age which is certain to choose Russia for its battlefield: you will soon know why. On the result will depend the religious future, and perhaps the entire destiny of many nations who amuse themselves with revolutions in other countries as if they were not infectious. However badly I describe these things, bring to their consideration, I pray you, the seriousness displayed by those from whom I have my information.

It is of religious Russia that we are going to treat, but we must first get some notions of social Russia. In the same way, any one who studied Russian society would understand nothing if he left out the Russian Church. Here religion and sociology are inseparable. The spiritual and temporal are mingled in all Russian life as one sees them mingled at the Kremlin, where there are as many palaces as churches, as many barracks as convents, as many icons as doors.

Russia really is "Holy Russia." One cannot take it for the subject of a book which should be simply religious or entirely secular.

You will receive seven letters from me. The first contains notes on the daily life of the people, and the social constitution which is based upon it. The second will make use of these documents to enter into, and perhaps explain, the Russian spirit. After these preliminaries I shall, in the third letter, sketch the history of Christianity in Russia. In the two next I shall try to show the harmony between this Christianity and the general life of the country. I shall add a short study of the dissenters, after which, in conclusion, we shall try to forecast the mission of the Russian Church.

It is customary with you to begin every study with a bibliography. We need only deal, need we? with French works. They are few. You have already the three classic volumes of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars and of the Russians*. For historic documents you can consult the *History of Russia*, by Alfred Rambaud; and the *Church of Russia*, by Pastor Boissard. You will read also in *The Workmen of Europe* monographs of families written by Le Play. It is in interpreting them that M. Demolins, in his celebrated book *How Migration creates a Social Type*, has given the only synthesis of the Russian type.

Is it necessary to recall the method of the school of Le Play, a method to which many modern students are, without knowing it, indebted? Environment—soil or atmosphere—is the first cause which determines whether the work of a people is on the fields or manufactures; and as this work, from the fact that it provides our daily bread, absorbs the greater part of our activity, it is not

astonishing that, in its turn, it gives a particular character to the family, the city, the State.

Let me put the matter definitely. Environment is the first thing to affect character, but one must not say that the Savoyards are poets because they see beautiful waterfalls, or the Arabs religious because they sleep under the stars; these pretty deductions have nothing scientific about them. Environment only affects life by means of work. Take the simplest instance—the grassy steppes of Central Asia; as they can only support herbivorous animals, notably horses, their inhabitants can only be horse-riding shepherds, whose life consists all but entirely of milking their mares. What follows? As the grass is exhausted they must live a nomad life: as in the deserted steppes to be isolated is to perish, they must group themselves in great families: as the pasture is more than enough for the beasts, and the herd for the men, it is useless for the community to own the soil, or for the individual to own the animals: as for the guidance of the herd there is no need to be very intelligent or very vigorous, authority is vested in the oldest person: as the community is a little world of which the needs are simple, there is no division of power, and the patriarch is at once head, judge, and priest. Thus a continuous chain of consequences links the spirit of men to their physical environment.

But, at the same time, Christianity is sufficiently strong to resist and even transform environment, especially when the society it penetrates is as yet ill-organized; and that is what happened when Cyril and Methodius arrived amongst the ancient Slavs. Nothing has ever seemed to me a more inviting study than the conflict between these determining

influences and this vital power. You see that for our guidance we have an inspiring notion which renders further introduction unnecessary. Keep, then, for your future leisure the reading of those beautiful works of specialists like de Vogüé and Léger. But, on the other hand, burn, and burn quickly, the worthless old books of all those framers of constitutions who for the last few months have been filling our magazines with their criticisms, schemes, or prophecies, and who fancy themselves in sympathy with Russia when they make themselves ridiculous by wishing the Russians to be what they design.

To-day, then, we take the material side of life in Russia.

I. The Russian Land

However diverse may be the races established within the borders of the Russian Empire, at its centre lives a homogeneous people comprising more than half of the subjects of the Tsar. These are the Russians properly so called. From them comes the unity ; in them we must look for the type. Now the true Russia is a country which is essentially agricultural. The southern half is formed of very fruitful lands, the black soils, the *tchernaziom*. They produce cereals. On them a scanty population follows a primitive husbandry, which makes no use of manures and almost none of labour. This incomparable soil produces only one-third as much per acre as the English soil. The harvest is only considerable because of the extent of the land. Let us start, then, with a walk in the heart of the country, in Great Russia, and, to be exact, in the plains of black soil in the government of Tambof.

A plain as level as an exaggerated *Beauce*. Little water. Little enough wood. But a magnificent mould which forms both road and fields, and from which the horses of your carriage, galloping to right and left, sometimes toss the black clods in your face. On this black basis the first shoots of corn are of a too vivid green. The sombre dust which rises in the distance assumes the kindly aspect of a mist. The monotony of this fertility stirs the emotions to their depths.

Here is a village; all the houses are of wood, roofed with thatch. The rough-hewn tree-trunks which form the walls make them look as if they were hardly separate from the forest. The houses are often a long way from each other for fear of fire, and a new *izba* is not an enlivening sight, for it means that one was burnt down last year. Often the residence of the *seigneur* is in the middle. It also is of wood, rarely of brick, has only one storey, and except that its roof is of metal or of shingles made from the bark of trees, there is little in its outward appearance to distinguish it from the dwellings of the peasants. The whole village seems a toy which some hatchet strokes would make or a cigarette destroy, and it seems natural that it should be hardly distinguishable from the earth, and be sometimes altogether hidden by the little birch-trees which grow among the *izbas*.

The first impression, then, is of poverty, the second is of isolation. The railways have been recently made, and their network has only very large meshes; when people live at thirty versts (fifteen miles) from a station they say that the train passes their doors. The season for transport is the winter, the conveyance a sledge; but then one fears the snowstorms,

WINTER TRAVELLING.

during which one has known of bewildered travellers going round and round all night, and dying at last of cold a few paces from their own homes. In summer there are only the roads, and as in Great Russia there are no stone quarries, hardly any road is paved or macadamized. The roads are mere spaces, more than fifty yards wide, on which no one may sow; parallel ruts mark their direction. In wet districts they are sometimes paved with round logs laid transversely on which the carriage wheels dance. Everywhere else there is, when it rains, a slough: the Russians call it "grias," and the sound of this word is sufficient description. That is why a coachman never fears to cross many little rivers by the fords—the bridge is under repair or its repair has been abandoned—the carriages go down into the water and clean themselves as well as they can on the other side. Difficulty of communication is suggested by the mere look of a village. In France most villages are stretched out along the road; mile-stones, inns, post-office, garage, show that the village has been produced by travel, those who live by the roadside are not really at home, and if the road could be removed they would have to move with it; our roads are arteries. In Russia this type is rare. A village is composed of parallel rows of houses, between which grow grass and shrubs. You do not always know which is the right way in or out. The part of the road which lies between two houses is more like a village grass-plot than a thoroughfare. Everything, instead of being connected with this track, is put down at some chance point in the vast solitude. "Put" is the right word, for there are no foundations. No shops tell of business with the outside world. When a carriage passes, the dogs bark to defend their owners, as

if the village were an island cut off by distance instead of by sea.

The feeling of loneliness is more oppressive when one comes back to the village after sunset. A few lights in the little windows of the *izbas* make the life one returns to seem poorer; all around, the mist renders flatter and more distant an expanse which is never enlivened by the shadow of a tree or the whistle of a train: of some villages which could be seen on the horizon at midday, there only remains a white bar and a spot of gold which one knows to be a steeple, and which in its turn fades away. Moscow must be at the end of the world!

In this framework are moving light-haired children, dressed in bright colours, with bare feet; old men, shod with boots or sandals, wrapped in long mantles of felt, their long hair cut short over the eyes, and their beards waved and curled as in the statues of the thirteenth century. The old men bow low as you pass, and the children seem to enjoy their life with the freedom of little animals. Respect and liberty, these at least are two characteristics which appear at the first glance and must be explained by the environment we have just noticed. But environment, as you know, has no direct influence on character. Its intermediary is work.

Let us discuss in turn the work of the peasant, and that of the nobility. Do not think that it is for simplicity's sake I content myself with these two extremes. Here there is no middle class, so to speak, for the merchants, no matter how rich they may be, have for a long time remained serfs like the labourers. Neither is there any working class, for the majority of workpeople in the towns are peasants on the move, who own a field and dream of dying there.

A Village in Winter.

II. The Life of the Russian Peasant

I cannot do better than avail myself of the researches of Le Play and his school. As they were begun more than fifty years since, they give us the history of a social evolution without which it would be difficult to grasp the meaning of contemporary events, and as they are extremely detailed monographs on families, they restore the past for us with all the life of an eye-witness's description. One must know yesterday to explain to-day: but one could never understand what took place yesterday unless one carried to it the feelings noticed to-day. It is a vicious circle. One can only escape by compromise. The best plan is not to go back more than half a century.

You know that fifty years ago nearly all the population of Russia were serfs. An insignificant section had been half emancipated by the system of *abrok*. The rest have been set free, at least in theory, by the ukase of 1861. *Workmen of Europe* and *Workmen of Two Worlds* analyse the types of these three phases. I shall summarize some of their observations, claiming the right to neglect varieties and omit sudden changes, and seeking at first neither a perfect classification nor a sustained argument.

1. Peasants in *corvée*.

Le Play found in 1853 a specimen of *corvée* peasants in a family living in the steppes of black earth at Orenburg, South Russia. It was a family of ten persons, the father a widower, three married sons, the eldest having two little children, and an unmarried daughter. All live in common under the father's authority. How do they live?

(*a*) Means of existence. These peasants live in

a plain such as we have described, on a property of more than 250,000 acres, of which an insignificant part is under cultivation, the rest being composed of forests and pasture. The *principal work* of the family, both men and women, is cultivation: they cultivate on their own account the lands which their *seigneur* assigns them, but each person owes besides to the *seigneur* three days a week of forced labour *corvée*; as a matter of fact no one does more than 125 days a year and after fifty-five years of age every one is exempt. The *secondary* kinds of work are very varied: for men, felling and transport of wood for fuel and lighting, making and repairing of furniture, making of sandals (*lapti*); for women, the keeping of the kitchen garden, growing of hemp and flax, making of materials and clothes, making of torches for lighting (*loutchines*); for in this forlorn country division of labour does not exist. All their work is careless, and cultivation is merely superficial. The country is so remote that no one can introduce any complicated machinery or any improved methods, hence intensive cultivation is impossible, and so little peopled that there is more than enough of everything, hence intensive cultivation is useless. Further, the peasant is ill-fed and cannot work much: not working much he is poor and consequently cannot be well fed: it is a complete and vicious circle.

The peasant has not a well-defined *ownership*. The plough-land does not belong to him. The *seigneur* lends him so many acres for a fixed period, at the end of which he can make a fresh redivision by the courtesy of the council of elders in each village. The only possession of the rural family is its house, the surrounding garden, some beasts of burden, a few cows and sheep, its tools, very badly repaired, money savings of about thirty roubles (£4):

Peasant Women at work.

add the furniture, and such furniture! the most valuable are the ikons; a bench goes all round the *izba*; there are a table and some stools, but no bed; household linen is all but unknown. On the other hand the Russian peasant receives large *grants in aid*: he can take from the forest as much wood as he likes for fuel or house repairs: there is no restriction to his hunting, fishing, and gleaning: and he knows that he will be helped in case of epidemic sickness, or fire. In all that there is nothing to cause wonder; ownership in the soil means little to a peasant who sees around him unoccupied fields which he would have no trouble to sow if any one drove him from his own: and the *seigneur* has so much wood that the thefts any one may make of it, if one ought to call them thefts, are perhaps the means of giving the trees air.

(*b*) Here, then, is a kind of work and of ownership unknown to the West; these *means*, involve also an *original mode, of existence*. It is a communal system. Without doubt it is the continuation of the communal life led by the primitive shepherds in the steppes. That is the only way one can account for it. But without that explanation one is less able to describe it, for in the isolation imposed by the vast stretches of land one finds the need of grouping all capacities for work so that each one's little work can help the combined work of all, and the vague ownership by diminishing individual independence increases in proportion that of the group. Hence proceeds a two-fold community: (i) *in the family*. Not only does the newly-married son live by his parents' hearth, but house, cattle and tools are the undivided property of the family, and the young households which make part of it scarcely possess their clothes as their own; (ii) *in the village* (*mir*).

At the head of each village is the council of elders. Its power is vastly more penetrating than that of our municipal councils: it divides the lands, selects recruits, administers justice. In that islet which a village is, it is an omnipotent Parliament.

Le Play shows what a result is caused by the ties which the communal system makes between the young people, the heads of families, the elders, and their *seigneur*, thus: "The patriarchal system in Russia harmonizes with the natural order of influences. In a social system where school teaching contributes nothing to the precocious development of children, where learning is only gained by the actual experience of life and soical intercourse, the old people have an enormous superiority over the young. The young are conscious of their inferiority, and when in Russia one asks some question of a man about forty years of age he never fails to answer that the information can be furnished better by some

MOUJIK AT DOOR OF IZBA.

one older. This system is further strengthened by religious sentiment: it is almost unexampled for a son to go so far as actual disobedience, and to make up his mind to incur his father's ban. In the comparatively rare cases where the father's authority is not strong enough to maintain the harmony required for communal life, when, above all, the differences which arise between daughters-in-law would go far, if unchecked, to cause the break up of the family, the father has recourse to the authority of the *seigneur*. His permission is in fact necessary in principle when the division of a family takes place; it is equally required in carrying it out—in this sense, that no new dwelling can be built without the *seigneur* making exemptions from labour and provision of materials. Such recourse to the *seigneur* is rare in land liable to taxation; but, when it is made, the *seigneur* himself appeals to a formal meeting of all the elders of the village of which the family is part. Experience has proved to him that in such cases he is most likely to be of use if he decides as they advise."

Such was Russian serfdom. It only resembled feudal service in a few points. Moralists may discuss its effects. Some will find it hateful that a *seigneur* should have the undisputed right over his peasants' honour; others will highly approve of that seignorial patronage which secured the *moujiks* their daily bread. It matters little; we must accept it at this moment as a fact, and we shall soon see that it was all but a necessity. However, these multiplied constraints were too oppressive; long ago it became necessary to modify the system; the *seigneurs* had freely consented to it by the concessions of *abrok*.

2. Peasants with *abrok*.

In the districts to the west, centre, and north of Russia the soil is unfertile, mines and forests are

worked, and some manufactures have been started. There the *seigneurs* have put an end to the *corvée* by giving the most energetic peasants the free disposition of all their lands on condition of a money rent, generally about £4 a head, called *abrok*. Le Play, in 1853, analysed peasants with *abrok* in the basin of the Oka, Mid-Russia. The most curious members of it are the emigrants.

These emigrants are the young men of a family of thirteen persons, including three married sons. When children they helped in the farm-work of the community, at eighteen years of age they were made liable for *abrok* and left home. At first their absences were for a season, during which they hired themselves out as boatmen in the Oka basin, returning at the time of frost with savings of from £4 to £8, which they put, as a lump sum, in the hands of the head of the family. At the end of some years the workman would move further away, e.g., to S. Petersburg, and there for eighteen months ply the trade of coachman (*izvoschik*), mason, or carpenter, returning to spend the winter with his wife, who had stayed in her father's house. At forty years of age the workman would return to farming and his son would go out in his turn.

Very characteristic is the life of these workmen during absence from home. It is still the life of the community. The emigrants go in a body or *artèle*. There are many kinds of *artèles*, here two only are formed, one lasting as long as the journey lasts, the other as long as the men stay in the big town.

The second will be enough to explain the method of all. Sixty emigrants are governed by four of their own number: the *artelchik* looks for work for the rest; the *cloutchnik* holds the common

purse; two *starchi* control them both. They lodge and board in common. The takings of the company are put together to be divided equally between all at the end of their campaign. The strong have thus no advantage over the weak. A compensation is established by making those rest, from time to time, who in the moments of pressure have done the hardest collar work. Thus the *artèle* assures the continuation of the communal life to which they are used in the family.

The independence given by *abrok* suits the most enterprising characters; but *abrok* is a favour of the *seigneur*, not a right of the peasant. Many finer minds demanded the liberty of the whole nation. Nicholas I. feared that if he decreed it too soon he would make all miserable, and contented himself with studying the possibility of Emancipation. It was Alexander II who signed the ukase in 1861.

3. Peasants who have been emancipated.

I have lying before me a monograph on emancipated *bordiers* of Great Russia observed by my father in 1876 and 1884, and I have myself just passed some time in their village at Lipegui, on the edge of the governments of Tambof and Penza.

Everybody knows what emancipation meant. People wanted to free the serf from *corvée*, but as his master also supplied him with food, it was necessary to give him, with his independence, means of obtaining a livelihood. One could only help him by making him owner. Consequently the *seigneur* was forced to sell to the peasants—or rather, and this is of the utmost importance, to the commune—part of his lands; a minimum was fixed which varied with the quality of the soil, and ought to have been enough to maintain the cultivators; in one district, it was two and a half acres

for each male, in another thirty, the average was eight or nine acres.

If the peasant could pay at once he gained his freedom at once; if not, the State undertook his obligations, paying the *seigneur* in thirty-seven years and getting repaid by the peasant in forty-nine. While waiting for the clearing off of the debt the peasant passed from the protection of the *seigneur* to that of the commune. The commune was responsible to the State for the debt of its members. This is one of the reasons why the State has wished the commune alone to possess the land. The ukase having been promulgated in 1861, it would only have its complete effect in 1910. We should not even then have escaped from serfdom if the Emperor Nicholas II had not, quite recently, graciously remitted to the peasants all that they had still to pay.

There is nothing, therefore, to wonder at that in reading this monograph on the emancipated *bordiers* one finds it almost like a monograph on the *peasants in corvée*. Before the emancipation the head of the family was steward in the *seigneur's* house: since then he has remained steward and works for the *seigneur*, but he is paid now (sixpence a day). It is true that the wages are less than those of the day labourers in the fields, but on the other hand the *seigneur* keeps up for the peasant some of those old grants in aid which are like a payment in kind. He is not obliged, he obliges himself, to keep peace in the district. Thus, under a new arrangement the original state of things survives almost exactly.

Let us note, however, that the family under discussion may be a special instance of continuity. In different provinces emancipation has had different results.

On the rich soils of the south peasants have been able to pay for their lands; they have prospered, emancipation has been a benefit. On the poor soils of the north the land yields too little for the new owners to discharge their debts; they have left their villages to hire themselves out elsewhere as workmen, less masters of the soil and less masters of their time than when they were serfs, and their departure ruined them and their *seigneurs* at the same time. Everywhere the separation has had bad results, in embittering the owners against the peasants who ceased working for them, and the peasants against the owners who ceased helping them. It has created two rival classes.

In short, it has produced this unexpected consequence; it has drawn the community closer. The peasant no longer, it is true, belongs to the *seigneur*, but he still belongs to the commune. Thus, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu writes in his great work, *The Empire of the Tsars and of the Russians* (i. 476), with a shade of censure: "By this means the link which bound the peasant to the soil, to the estate, has not been altogether broken, or has been in part renewed. The undivided ownership, and the lumped taxes are like a double chain which by keeping the peasants in the commune where they were born, fixes them still to the soil; though they are no longer, by law, attached to their master, they are always, by law, attached to each other. Their liberty, like their property, is in a certain measure collective and undivided; freed from the bonds of serfdom they can with difficulty move outside the commune. If they had not the right of giving each other permission, and if the exercise of this right had not recently been extended, the emancipated serfs would have been like a flock

of sheep, set free from the shepherd, but, as the animals were tied one to another and obliged to walk together, forced to graze on the spot where the shepherd left them. Thanks to this new solidarity, on the top of the old custom of lumping the direct taxes, you might say that instead of overthrowing the old Russian commune with collective ownership, emancipation has, for the present, strengthened it by making the Treasury interested in its maintenance until the ransom from serfdom has been fully paid."

One cannot say that the peasant only waits for the opportunity of being set free from the *mir*. The old sayings always seem true to him : "The *mir* is not a master, it is an affectionate father who has the same concern for all his children," or, again, "The last in the *mir* is always part of one and the same flock, but once separated from the *mir* he is only an orphan." These proverbs are darkly reasonable. Suppose anything occurs to break up the *mir*. Let it be the triumph of Socialism—the soil will belong to the nation, and the peasant will only be a State workman. Let it be the establishment of small proprietors—most peasants do not know how to keep themselves : if the harvest is good they put nothing by, when it is bad they ask help from professional money-lenders, once in debt they can only increase their debt, and their new fields will be soon bought back by large speculators who will employ them as workmen ; there will still be a proletariat. Nationalization of the land and excessively small properties are the two modern dangers, and the *mir*, opposed to one as much as to the other, saves Russia from them both. This is because it is the natural outgrowth from a certain extensive cultivation, and as long as intensive cultivation is not attempted the *mir* will be a necessity.

These studies throw peculiar light on our knowledge of the history of the Russian peasant. The first Slavs came, beyond doubt, from the shepherds of Central Asia, who live in communities of more than a hundred persons, obeying their patriarch and owning cattle in common, without any ownership in the soil at all. To prove it, look at the route of the great invasions of those who, crossing the steppes in the south of Russia, have not been able to leave settlers to establish themselves there, look at the people designated by family—and not by country—names in the first histories dealing with the Slavs; and see among the Bachkirs to-day near the Ural, the transition actually taking place from pasturage to tillage.

When the Slavs settled, before the ninth century, they had already—or still—the patriarchal family and the *mir*. Existing at the beginning, and existing in our own day, such a social order cannot have changed much. For the Russian peasant there is no history, there are only incidents.

At the great epoch of Jaroslav (eleventh century), this peasant was a free man, and, I venture to say, the freest of men, for he must have inherited from his nomad ancestors the taste, and almost the need, for wandering. There were plenty of slaves, but they were prisoners of war.

Under Ivan the Terrible (sixteenth century), there are still slaves, prisoners, purchased, or children of other slaves. There are some farmers and some *métayers*. But the bulk of the rural population is the *moujik* of the *mir*. It is true that he is less and less independent. The State, which makes itself more and more powerful, and consequently more and more in need of funds, takes first the heavy taxes for which the *mir* is responsible. The *seigneurs*,

whose expenses increase with those of the State they serve, claim from the peasants *corvée* and rents.

The state of the peasants was made worse still by Boris Godounof, in the reign of Ivan the Terrible's son Feodor, to whom Boris was at once half-brother and most influential minister. At this time the *moujiks* could pass from a little to a large landowner for employment, and the large landowners profited by their wealth to attract them: the small owners kept the land, but could get no harvest from it; they were being ruined. To protect them, the Tsar, or, rather, Boris, forbade a peasant henceforth to pass from one estate to another; the peasant was thus fixed to the soil (1592). This act had two causes, a political and an agricultural. At first Boris schemed for the throne, thereby he made himself the enemy of the great *boyards*; he had also to seek friends among the smaller nobility, the means thereto was to enrich them. In enriching them he was enriching the State, which recruited its army from the country nobility. He killed two birds with one stone. It furthered his ambitious schemes, and it secured patriotism. But it was, whether consciously or not, a great social reform. The Russian peasant had never been a real peasant: he only tilled the land because he was obliged: if he could please himself he would travel. Thus the ukases which meant to fix him to the soil had for their first effect an increase in the number of Cossacks. Besides, it is one of the best-established laws that it is hard to turn a shepherd into a tiller of the soil, and if you wish for an actual instance of it I will refer you to the famous monograph on Semi-nomad Bachkir, published by Le Play in the second volume of *Workmen of Europe*, and annotated by M. Demolins in the second volume

of *Migration.* To secure for Russia its chief wealth (the harvest) Boris Godounof employed, for want of natural constraint, the constraint of a ukase. Serfdom was better than a political manœuvre, it was an agricultural necessity.

Serfdom remained almost without change till the nineteenth century: rather, it got worse. Thus Peter the Great fixed the *métayers* to their place of abode, and the cultivators remained free (1723). But as a rule no one disturbed themselves to change the system of work, they were engaged in improving their estates. On the one hand they improved the method, and the Tsars had often strenuously to oppose the peasants' customs: it needed a ukase from Peter the Great for reaping to be done with a scythe and not a bill! On the other hand, colonies were planted. Catharine II invited the Germans into the recently-conquered and still uninhabited districts of the Ukraine. Araktchéef, the minister of Alexander I, founded military colonies where the soldier, accompanied by his family, clears, and at the same time guards, the frontiers of the Empire. Alexander III carried these frontiers well to the east of the Ural Mountains: the best result of the Trans-Siberian railway is to stimulate emigration into the good land of Siberia, which is the chief Russian colony: this care for agriculture inspires all the Asiatic policy of Russia.

In the meantime, Alexander II had freed twenty-two millions of serfs, and I have already described their actual state: you see how the method I am trying to follow illuminates past and present from each other.

If it were necessary to sum up in a single phrase all that I have said up to this point, I would add that *the characteristic of the peasant is communal life.*

We shall see that the characteristic of the noble is, on the contrary, individualistic life.

III. The Life of the Russian Nobility

Follow me to the house of a *barin*, the proprietor, on an average, of some hundreds or thousands of acres, whose father and grandfather were each a sovereign *seigneur*, and who himself is no more now than a noble *pametschik*.

You have just now seen from a distance his wooden house which, being low, seemed modest. Go in! There is an abrupt appearance of splendid comfort; stoves of pottery take up panels of the walls, huge arm-chairs of local manufacture, clumsy, but conducive to long siestas or deep reveries, doors strengthened with heavy locks of copper, rooms which are houses, tables which are platforms, basins which are pans, windows which are fortifications against the winter. The comfort is intoxicating!

Obviously we are in the house of a person who does little work. Our host ought to be at the head of agricultural enterprise, but he lets his land to farmers, or, if he keeps it in his own hands, it is generally managed by a steward, while he travels through Europe. Does he return to settle down on his estates? Having travelled in quest of art or philosophy he has brought back from other lands no lessons in agriculture, for when he was young no one urged him to seek them, and were he to make himself a pioneer in new methods he would have to take a hundred times more trouble to alter his workmen than he took to teach himself, and that being so, he gives it up: lastly, if he wished to increase his harvests it would only be to increase

his wealth, and, living alone, he has no needs. Thus *seigneur* and peasants come to an understanding only to require from the land that which it can well give.

Thus he has all his time for lounging or self-culture. Here is the way he spends his day. Between eight and ten he gets up and has a first breakfast. During the morning, tea. Towards one o'clock, breakfast. Later, tea. Towards four, the chief meal. Then tea. About nine o'clock, supper. Tea before going to bed, which is not till well after midnight. Between the meals and each tea, fruit and sweets are eaten. There is thus little time, and particularly there is no long time, when he is not at table.

Among the hosts of such houses (i) the most material have nothing to think of but eating. To give an idea of its excess one may just think of what goes to make a soup. *Chchi*, for instance, is made of a piece of beef, soaked in a great dish packed with sour cabbage on which sour cream has been poured, and you swallow the whole with little cakes stuffed with meat or rice; this soup is a meal in itself. No stomach can compete with the Russian stomach. (ii) The spiritual prefer tea. Always exquisite, always weak, you have more than ten cups of it a day, while you smoke, whether men or women, the best cigarettes of the South, and the drinking and smoking are a stimulant to the delightful conversations which I shall describe later. You see that it depends on the individual whether such a life enervates the body or refines the soul.

If it enervates, the *seigneur* cannot endure the least contradiction. I have said that he dines "towards" four o'clock: that means sometimes two, sometimes five, at whichever hour he is pleased to feel hungry. Each person comes to table when he likes, a quarter

of an hour earlier or a quarter of an hour later, the son when he gets in from hunting, the daughter without cutting short her music. There are no places of honour. No one hesitates to put elbows on the table. They are astonished that English etiquette leaves any appetite, and tales are told of mishaps in travelling: "At Paris, one race day, it took more than ten minutes to get a carriage for me" (and since that he has kept a cab at his door from seven in the morning, although he did not get up before noon!). "At Berlin they would not register my luggage because they said the train was just starting" (in Russia the train waits half an hour for him even when it is late!). He likes things on a big scale.

He offers them also. His house is meant for entertaining. If his friends live at a distance they could not disturb themselves for a visit of less than a fortnight, and nothing is so charming as Russian courtesy. However, if the table is so freely open to strangers whose news is diverting, the house is often unvisited by relatives who live in the neighbourhood. This strange fact is easily explained.

While the peasants may number five hundred at the centre of their village, the *seigneur* is alone in it. The peasants may crowd as close to each other as they like, he is obliged to live by himself. Has he relatives tens of miles away? in bad weather it is a real journey; the habit of living like a wolf begins. Does it react on him? The conversations of these recluses are always the same, and soon he leaves them to themselves to escape being bored—the habit is fixed. It is true the better sort can always see friends without getting tired; but their visits will only be those of travellers who barter ideas, impressions, gossip; men who have never been annoyed by any stranger have no need of the support

of a friend; they have between them no continuous links of interest. Thus the extent of the soil crowds the small people and separates the great. Two opposite results proceed from the same simple cause. But there is the explanation in one sentence of all the acts of independence we have just noticed.

TRAVELLER, IN FURS.

Let us insist upon it. The Russian nobility is unacquainted with what we call "give and take," or with sympathy, family pride, and, in a bad sense, nepotism. It is quite natural for them to see only once in a year the cousin from a neighbouring village, with whom, in spite of that, they have no quarrel; and further, the title of cousin is no good for getting any favour. Some would even see a brother die without any sorrow if he differed from them in politics. Ask a provincial *barin* if he is not the father of the minister with the same name, and he will answer carelessly,

as if he were afraid of the fatigue of examining the family records, "Who knows? God knows!" (*Kto znaït? Bogh znaït!*) Accordingly, as family ties do not exist, other social ties cannot be formed.

I quote a curious illustration from the district administration. A district is more populous than one of our arrondissements, less populous than one of our departments, and naturally much larger in area. The administration of it is entrusted to officials who in no way resemble our prefects or sub-prefects. The most characteristic are the *zemskié natchalniki*. On the one hand, they are civil servants, because the Government pays them; on the other hand, they are often chosen among the owners of property in the locality. Further, their powers are very varied, for to the administrative authority properly so called they add judicial authority, up to a certain limit much more extensive than that of our *juges de paix*. It is a decentralization unknown in France, and it is a decentralization which makes centres of the resident noblemen. The principle of it is certainly excellent. Now I know a district of which the Governors—the *zemskié natchalniki*, the permanent members of the assembly chosen from the *zemstvos* and the marshal of the nobility—nearly all belong to the same family, that is to say, they are in the most favourable circumstances for showing benefits or tyranny on the largest scale. Well, they have tried neither; there is no common life, no concerted action, each in his sphere is satisfied with treating his subordinates with the good nature of a petty king or with making great sacrifices for the zemstvo-schools, of which, nevertheless, he condemns the tone; the soil does not produce the social instinct in the sense familiar to the Westerns, and especially to the English. From our point of

view we should say that the Russian nobility would never make a governing class. On the other hand, it is an excellent nobility for service. You will see it yourself if you look into their work and their ownership. (i) *The work* of a civil servant; children whose parents so often indulge them blindly get no shaping of character, for the sheer sentimentalism of home-training does not brace their manhood, and the sheer intellectualism of the *gymnasium* is as depressing in Russia as it is elsewhere. That is why, when these children reach manhood, they have no opening except service, and despise the *kouptsy* who get rich by trade; the marshals of the nobility, who are elected but not paid, stake their honour on being deemed civil servants, and there is an odd story of a marshal of nobility who only protested that he was not a civil servant because he would have had, if he were one, to have kept Easter (i.e., gone to confession and communion). (ii) As for *ownership*, it does not appeal to them more than as a salary in kind: it is less such a section of a province than an abstract number of acres—that has been clear enough when lately the peasants have risen to demand the purchase of land from the *seigneurs*. Most of them have been pleased to exchange their rent rolls for money. There you see the special virtues of the Russian nobility: it cares little for the estates of its ancestors, but it venerates the sovereigns who bestowed them; and unscrupulous sometimes in wringing money from the serfs, it never hesitates to offer it to the Tsar, adding to the treasure their blood, with an Oriental fatalism, and a devotion of which the French think they have a monopoly.

History gives them a still better record. A thousand years ago the Slavs were parcelled out in a multitude of little cantons or *volosts*; the

council of the *volost* was their highest authority: when some *volosts* entered into a league against their neighbours it was under a chief for the time being only. Of their own accord the Slavs summoned the Varangians to be their rulers, saying, "Our land is rich but we cannot keep order in it: come and govern us." The three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Trouvor, accordingly came and settled at Novgorod, while Askold and Dir were enthroned at Kiev. These Varangians were like the Scandinavians: Scandinavian were their names and also some features in the laws of their descendants, such as trial by jury in the *Code of Russian Law* of Jaroslav (1016–1054). These Scandinavians—to pursue a very probable suggestion—were warrior merchants who traded between the Baltic and the Byzantine Empire Their trade route was the Neva, the south of Lake Ladoga, the Volkhov, Lake Ilmen, the Lovat, a short distance for porterage between the Lovat and the Dnieper, then the Dnieper and the Black Sea. Novgorod, at the outlet of Lake Ilmen, at the boundary between the Scandinavians and the Slavs, and Kiev, at the handle of the fan of tributaries which flow into the Dnieper, were places which could not but be tempting to such travellers; and you know the part played in history by the Republic of Novgorod, whose constitution recalls—not to say reproduces—that of Carthage and Venice. Clients of Byzantium, these merchants would have preferred being its owners. Askold and Dir themselves, then Oleg, brother and successor of Rurik, then Igor, son of Rurik, built fleets upon the Dnieper and came into the Bosphorus to lay siege to the Imperial City: these expeditions were brought to an end now by the defeat of the Varangians, now by advantageous commercial treaties (900–950). In all these events

they were well within their character of armed merchants.

Rurik's companions were the first Russian nobility. Around the chief lived a *droujina*, similar to the *trust* of the Merovingian kings. Their chief gave them estates, but they had no means or qualification for cultivating them: they were content to lord it over the ancient tillers of the soil. They learnt much from Byzantium; conquerors or conquered they were fascinated by the Eastern Empire; in particular it offered them a government which had stood the test of time, while their own, dear enough to the Slavs, was still in its earliest stage. As the Merovingians took over the system of Roman government so the Varangians took over the framework of the Byzantine. Exactly as the Merovingian code is a mixture of Roman and French law, the first Russian codes are a mixture of Byzantine and Scandinavian law. This epoch strongly resembles that of the first establishment of the Franks. But a difference appears immediately. Behind the warrior Franks some peasant Saxons had entered Gaul; they had a genius for agriculture; they amassed wealth. When Pepin of Landen had become the greatest landowner in France his house overthrew without a *coup d'état* the dynasty which had been obliged to crumble its inheritance away to pay the cost of war or administration. The two dynasties are, then, of different types: it is not a family succeeding a family but a type replacing a type: after the king who had been warrior-chief came the king who could direct agriculture. The same transformation was seen in the nobility. The first hierarchy was founded on the rendering of service, the second on ownership of the land: the Merovingian *antrustions* were, like their king, rulers:

the feudal lords were, like the feudal sovereign, landed proprietors. Knowing the history of the Middle Ages in France we can more easily understand by contrast the Middle Ages in Russia. The contrast is here: the French nobility became agriculturists, the Russian nobility could not. That means a great deal. This "Merovingian condition" lasted for the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The capital of Russia was Kiev. The neighbourhood of Byzantium assured it superior civilization. In spite of the absence of a territorial class Russia seemed as advanced as the West. Towards 1224 a catastrophe changed all. This was the Tartar invasion.

The Tartars of Gengis Khan were horse-riding shepherds, grouped for the moment under a chief; they were terrible for the suddenness of their attacks —since they were nomads by profession—and by their massacres in defiance of their pledged word—since like all savages they disregarded social conventions. The Russian princes gave up their quarrels to offer a united resistance. A battle took place on the banks of the Kalka, near the Sea of Azov. The defeat of the Russians was disastrous (1224). At the other side of Europe first Frederick II, then S. Louis, were roused.

Russia was in subjection for nearly three hundred years. The Eastern Horde was firmly settled—if nomads can be so—in the south and east of Russia proper, and, on the banks of the lower Volga, Baty had founded a kind of camp called Saraï, which did for a capital. From there he ruled—or rather tyrannized—in the manner of a typical Turk but with unparalleled cruelty. To speak exactly, Tartar influence was insignificant upon all who clung to the soil; shepherds who had neither home nor constitu-

tion have never been able to govern tillers of the soil, however little these may have had of either; they could no more intermarry with them than the Mongols to-day intermarry with the Chinese; the dread of their riding raids, like the dread of fire or plague, was all. They have had more influence on ideas, but in a negative direction; the Russians, instead of looking to Byzantium, turned to Mongolia; from being a province of Europe Russia became a dependency of Asia; its civilization was abruptly checked.

It was, however, upon the princes that the Tartars left the deepest mark. We have seen that they could only drain the conquered territories, levying money, furs, and men, for they required slaves and foot-soldiers. They tried at first to collect the levies themselves, i.e., by merchants from Khiva, escorted by cavalry. They gave that up, and unquestionably were as little competent as the Turks to-day to manage a Treasury. So they soon took for their collectors the Russian princes themselves. The Russian princes upheld the Khans against their own subjects. Do not be astonished at it. The princes were summoned to the Horde to make their submission; if they refused, in a few days their mission stations were pillaged, their towns burnt, and there was indiscriminate massacre; if they consented, they had to make their way with all sorts of prostrations into the Khan's tent, and if they let a single drop of the milk, which they offered, fall on his horse's hoof had to lick it up. Assembling in a body at this court they naturally sought favours with the usages of courtiers, and the flatteries and calumnies required ended in the corruption of their morals. They became the simple instruments of the Khans, and their old *droujinas* became their instru-

ments in turn; they got further and further away from the feudal land tenure.

However, in spite of this submission, the power of the Russian princes increased. It was inevitable. At first the most cunning of them, to win the favour of the Khan, undertook to collect the taxes, not only from themselves, but from their neighbours; next it became necessary to unite the conquered under a chief of their own, in readiness for the time when the Christians would at last put to flight these profaners of churches. The princes of Moscow had the good luck to conquer the other princes. Two of their number were worthy of note. Dmitri Donskoi, that wonderful horseman, emboldened by S. Serge, the founder of the Troitza Lavra, gathered an army of more than a hundred thousand men and won at Koulikovo the first victory over the Tartars (1380).

After the Tartars had re-taken Moscow and the Russians been subjugated afresh, but not so desperately, Ivan the Great won, after reigning forty-three years, the surname of "The Re-uniter of Russia" (1462–1505). This patient man raised an army larger even than that of Dmitri Donskoi, and was content to dawdle indefinitely on the banks of the Oka, in front of the Tartars: one fine day the two armies fled, the one in front of the other, nor were the Tartars ever seen again (1480).

You see that from such a start the history of the nobility and of the autocracy will be fast conjoined. The great prince will aim at centralized power and the nobility will become his officials. No economic emergency having arisen to check it, this political development proceeded apace. Let us recall two stages in it. Ivàn the Terrible (1533–1584), with some thousands of executions, swept away all the

nobility who stood in his path. Peter the Great (1682–1725) made a fresh nobility by organizing the

THE THRONE OF THE TSARS PETER AND JOHN.

Tchin. You can see the outline of it in any dictionary. Every noble must serve the Tsar, and all who serve the Tsar become noble. Ownership of the land carried with it duties to the State, and all who held State appointments received a great deal of

land. There was little difference between the hereditary nobility and that of recent creation. Above all, an equivalence between ranks at Court, whether in the army or the judicial bench, made the fourteen stages of Tchin like some Prussian machine, although the old families in their hearts despised the *tchinovniks*, and although breeding will always be breeding in spite of decrees.

Here, then, are the facts which issue logically in the manners we see to-day. Actual work and long ancestry add their effects; the Russian nobility is not rooted to the soil, it is only camped there; the peasants, who have a great instinct of tradition, have always fancied that it was in return for some service that the *seigneur* kept back the land from them, and they express it in an old proverb "Our backs are yours, the land is ours."

Do not, further, think that this service is slavery. The Russian bureaucracy is not made on the same model as the French. It has tolerance for the great *seigneurs*. Then distance always delays orders and checks sanctions. Each member of the hierarchy is only half responsible to his superiors and half obeyed by his inferiors. Every one keeps the independence of isolation. We can now repeat the conclusion already stated. In Russia the people only are a perfect community, the noble is above all an individualist.

Thus, individual Russian noblemen are often far superior to the nobles of other European countries; in every case they have more "general culture"; in the West what a group gains by acting together the individuals lose in brilliance; for a country to be strong the opinions of each citizen must yield to the national belief; but nothing impoverishes the rich nature of the Russian, and he lets it shine

with a contempt for etiquette which is a form of modesty.

Lastly, if these nobles have no mutual links except through the central Government, they are only intermediaries between it and the people. There are in Russia only two real powers: at the bottom, the communes organized like complete empires and belonging strictly to the sporadic state, and at the top the Tsar. Between the two there is no local authority as in England. In these conditions the central power could only be absolute.

Do not let that word shock you. In the West absolute power is looked upon as a preliminary condition which tends inevitably to constitutional monarchy and then republicanism. If any one were to set it up again to-day it would be by a *coup d'état* and to exercise tyranny. Thus the words "absolute power" are hateful to the French. But Tsarism does not, in the least, resemble the rule of Louis XIV or of Napoleon. The Russian peasant can only administer a commune, the Russian *barin* has no wish to administer at all; also, the nation is entrusted to a man who is absolute head because he is absolutely responsible. He has not seized power as a means to an end, it has been confided to him as a stewardship. It is not, in the least, a survival from the past, it is a permanent necessity. And the Tsar himself is not feared like a Roman Cæsar but venerated as the "little father"—"*bátiushka*." He is that which the Saviour was in the Gospel, "the servant of all."

However interesting the political question may be, I have only wished to deal with it so far as would make clearer the object of my chapter. Is it enough to show you that which in Russia is really Russian? But, side by side with the Russian element, there is

a foreign element, of recent introduction it is true, but already too important to be passed over. The future will not be completely dominated by it, but it is unquestionably dangerous. A chapter is wanted under this heading merely to show that one distinguishes it from the national, and consequently inevitable, background.

IV. The Influence of the West

Ever since Russia has known the West it has tried to copy it. Russia in this sense means the Government, not the people. Then a body which has absolute power, and power set on doing good, is sure to have exaggerated ideals. It makes divine plans. Working *for* the people it does not work *with* the people. Thus it is not astonishing that its efforts should be rather artificial. Russian reforms have been too great or too rapid. We must show this feature both in economics and politics.

1. *Economic experiments of modern Russia.* With agriculture, which was always the chief care, the Tsars have combined manufacture. They started at the Renaissance. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Michael Romanoff called into Russia the German founder Marselein and the Dutch founder Vinius. Under Peter the Great a Frenchman, Mauvrion, set up in Moscow a stocking loom, an Englishman, Humphrey, improved the Russian leather, and the Tsar ordered a certain number of shoemakers to go and learn from him under pain of the galleys. But it was specially in the nineteenth century that Government imposed on its subjects work in great factories. In them the Russian naturally is rebellious. With his communal instincts he

dislikes both his isolation among his fellow-workmen and the continuous toil which all manufacture involves. An amateur husbandman is a most indifferent workman. Thus the output of Russia is bad and expensive. To get the home-made goods sold it has been necessary to make import duties, at first only of a protective, then of a prohibitive, character. That is not all. The Russian is still less of a good foreman than workman, less a good inventor than foreman. He has been obliged to bring foremen and inventors from abroad. Capitalists have followed them. In consequence, the greatest profits of this industry have been for Germans or Jews. Not being able to surmount the barriers against imports, they have set up for themselves in Russia, and the barrier which was meant to exclude them does no one but them any good. This was a real invasion. The only means of developing industry was to develop agriculture, because when agriculture is prosperous it, of its own accord, calls forth industries to make use of its excess produce. By traversing all the successive phases, the condition of Russian economics would have reached most quickly the economic condition of the West. Instead of that, people have wished to carry on at one and the same time two consecutive works. They have hindered the first and spoilt the second.

2. *The foreign policy of modern Russia.* The new feature in Russian politics is naval enterprise. It dates from Peter the Great. To his agricultural people he wanted to give ships even before they needed them. Green wood was used by twenty-six thousand workmen for building on the banks of the Don the fleet which went, in 1696, to capture Azov. This haste inspires all their naval policy. Peter the Great and his successors wanted harbours everywhere

at once. *In the Baltic.* This led to the building of S. Petersburg, the struggle with Sweden and the Danish alliances. *Towards the Bosphorus and Dardanelles.* S. Petersburg wants Constantinople, the Powers oppose it: hence the Crimean War, the Turkish War, and the efforts to rouse the Southern Slav states against the Porte. *Towards the Indian Sea.* The problem is to get past the mountain fastnesses of Armenia and Persia. Two ways present themselves:—(i) from Trans-Caucasia, by Kars, Erivan, and the mouth of the Euphrates; (ii) from the oases of Turkistan, by Merv, Herat, Kandahar, and the mouth of the Indus. The Russians find themselves blocked here by the English. *Toward* the *Pacific.* Lastly, Russia aims at an outlet towards the waters of the Further East. The first chosen was in Kamchatka, Petropavlovsk, nearly always ice-bound, and only a harbour on the maps. Then they built Nicolaievsk, Mariinsk, Alexandrovsk (1851), and Vladivostok (1860). South of Vladivostok the Bay of Poussiet was seized in 1876, and further south still it is common knowledge how, opposite Pekin, Russia obtained or created the double port of Port Arthur for military, and Dalny for commercial purposes, and how she lost both in the struggle against Japan. All these ports are at the furthest point of long lines, carried out, like the Trans-Siberian, with the greatest expenditure of toil, or only schemed, like the route from Merv to the Indus. These are not the inevitable sequel to a thriving trade undertaken by a crowd of isolated colonists, they are the premature decree of a lonely spirit which offers encouragement to slack trade. In the opposite way to English policy, which leavens the world by attaching individuals to her, Russian policy descends upon it with a network made in advance,

designed in a palace by some one who turned a globe in his hand. He could not allow that, having space against him, he must let time assist him. He has disregarded the laws of evolution by passing on without stopping. One incident alone has been enough to put an abrupt end to these rash experiments. The last war, from the torpedo attack on Port Arthur to the battle of Tsushima, by destroying that masterpiece of pride, the Russian fleet, has precluded them for a long time from any naval pretensions. India and Corea are no longer threatened. The Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian lines will not have termini, they will be lines for the benefit of agriculture. The brutal kindness of a defeat recalls Russia from its policy of naval enterprise which had been too hasty, to the policy of continental colonization which rather lags. In its arsenals, as in its factories, it has done itself little good by playing the Western. When will she realize that it is best for her to be Russia?

Thus in Russia two forces are in open conflict, the Eastern spirit and the Western spirit. The slowness of the Eastern cannot keep pace with the speed of the Western. In one sphere Russia is in the seventh century, in another she is in the twentieth. She has received from Europe the printing press before the plough. This caused the crisis.

3. *The crisis.* This has been shown in the last half century by nihilism. The name is most suitable though the nihilists disclaim it. Their schemes are not different from those of a Ravachol or a Vaillant. Yet they are of another class than our anarchists: Bakounine, Krapotkine, Lavrov, Tikhomirov, Stepniak are nobles or literary persons. This fact has astonished even the Russians: it has been well analysed in M. de Cyon's books: it has two causes:—

(*a*) The first is local. Many nihilists are noblemen, sometimes in debt, always absentees from their estates, who, deploring their lot with an excess of severity, have found nothing worse, and have blamed society instead of blaming themselves: they revert to the type of malcontents. But most nihilists are sons of the people, who have won their way to the *tchin* by competition; and uniting in themselves the contradictory defects of the village commune and the town official are embittered against the whole world by the jealousy of self-made men: they revert to the type of persons not in their proper sphere. In all alike there is at the bottom a hatred of government inherited from the original Slavs. Some facts seem to justify them. Each commune governs itself, and if the bureaucracy is not perfect it is at any rate not useful: a bundle of communes in a Russia without government could still make the people happy: to restore this scriptural disorganization it is enough to blow up a few ministers: the spirit of charity has preached the bomb!

(*b*) The second cause of nihilism is foreign influence. Although they pride themselves on being "intellectuals" all the nihilists are uncultivated spirits, for they have learnt little, and more than uncultivated, for they have not even the intellectual tradition. So when they wanted to teach the East, not knowing about gropings and developments, they only asked from science one word and that its last: this last word was merely the word then in fashion: worse! to the science of to-day they preferred the science of to-morrow, to the lowly point of view of the student, the harmonious prophecy of the demagogue: they have, like callow youths, been intoxicated with general ideas. Thus their gospels were the works of Buchner or Moleschott. For them they would have gone to

the gallows. There they learnt that everything in the world is only matter and energy—an end to morals—that individuals are absolutely irresponsible—an end to society—that the universe is made up of a few formulae—an end to reflection! These logical constructions are in fact destructive. But they would make too violent a contrast with the actual condition of the Slav country for one to imagine the least harmony between them. Reforms are impossible—only a revolution. But for fifty years nihilism has been advancing until we have reached what may be called parliamentary nihilism.

The first Duma, elected in a moment of misunderstanding, was foolish to imitate the West. It amused itself with parliamentary procedure like a new toy, a toy natural to those who had taken part in the long discussions of the *izba*, a toy ineffective under the disorganizing action of the intellectuals. Thus, in connection with the agrarian law, five hundred speakers had given in their names merely for the general discussion. But at first starting it demanded with enthusiasm the abolition of capital punishment, women's suffrage, the disendowment of the Church, and even the partition of the Empire. Weeks passed before there was any question of real legislative work. There was nothing but destruction. The negative work was emphasized after the dissolution of the Duma in the manifesto from Viborg—"Peasants, give the Emperor neither taxes nor soldiers!" That was said in a strain to which no "club" has ever lowered itself, and hawked through the country by bands of inflammatory agitators. Do you think the agitators laid down a positive programme? Not at all. In the eyes of a stranger who looks at it without prejudice this assembly deserved only to go to the galleys or to school. Will another when it is

MEMBERS OF THE DUMA ON THEIR WAY TO A RECEPTION AT TSARSKOE SELO.

assembled do better? I doubt it. The parliamentary system is not a universal panacea. It has grown on the English soil for very simple reasons which you know better than I: it is not transferable to Russia for the very simple reasons which I have tried to give you.

If one wishes to summarize the influence of the West on Russia one must recognize that it has been bad chiefly because it has been too rapid. In M. Demolins' phrase Russia is really suffering from "social overdrive." We must not increase it by trying to cure it. The Russians have been too self-distrustful in taking us for patterns.

I am not going to deal with politics, not because I am afraid to call myself liberal or conservative, if I were either, but because the two horns of this apparent dilemma are Western conceptions which have no meaning for a Russian. Not to look for the Russian point of view is the danger from which one cannot be too careful to protect oneself: it is great in politics, it is greater still in religion. If these pages have only served to mark it they will not be wasted. I would dwell on the point, but my letter is already too long, perhaps also you will find it disconnected. In the next I shall recapitulate its points, in order to draw from them my conclusions. It may be that while waiting for my letter you will do it for yourself. Think of it and think of me.

LETTER II

THE RUSSIAN SPIRIT AS THE PRODUCT OF RUSSIAN LIFE

My last letter, dear friend, was only concerned with the externals of life, an assortment of plain facts which were not worth the trouble of scientific classification. To-day I take in hand a most quixotic task, viz., to catalogue and codify the aspects of the Russian spirit, to catalogue in dry formulas that which is substance and shadow, and to codify both within those limits which are the result of environment and employment, and which issue in capricious displays of the faith, in recklessness, and in dreams. I accuse myself beforehand in order to secure that you yourself may shade off the hardness of my picture. Perhaps it will satisfy the Latins. Pray that no Russian read it!

Here is the plan which seems the most suitable :— A. Moral facts. B. Intellectual facts. C. One fact which, though unique, is yet of the utmost importance, the conflict in the Russian spirit between submission and revolt. D. In conclusion we shall see how these psychological qualities have prepared for the religious life.

As our task under each of these three heads is to deduce the spiritual from the material, we shall be obliged—in the terminology of one of the chief followers of Le Play, Henry de Tourville—to follow

the natural sequence of phenomena, and we must be prepared, if we are to succeed, to examine the most unlikely arguments. You will accordingly notice disorder at the end and repetitions at the beginning. So much the worse or so much the better!

A. Moral Facts

1. *Moral facts which are the direct result of environment.*

We will commence with environment. It has certain direct effects on character.

(*a*) The climate is weakening. In the centre of Russia the summer is torrid, the winter freezing. In the seasons between one sometimes goes in a few hours from thirty degrees of heat to ten degrees of cold (85°–15° Fahr.). In winter one has to go every day out of the over-heated *izba* to the plain, where one can only be protected by excellent furs. These extremes harden but exhaust the body. The strongest breeds of animals have degenerated since their introduction into Russia. The same fate befalls mankind. The Russian giant is not always a Hercules.

(*b*) This unlucky country attracts other evils. First, epidemics of plague and cholera, which come from Asia. Then famine; the summer is short; if it starts badly, fine days at its close cannot make up for lost time, and when the harvest is poor, how can one get the corn which is needed? Lastly, fires often occur in these villages of wood; one can be certain that every house will be burnt in so many years. Nothing can be done to prevent these fires except building the houses altogether apart from each other; the police have an eye on this,

but the tradition is very strong, and people build closely to each other, preferring, since there is no escape, to be threatened in a body than to struggle all alone, much as children in a thunderstorm will crowd under trees and shut their eyes.

These two conditions help to the same result. The severity of the seasons and the force of circumstances are the first things to make the Russian disinclined from effort.

That is all which results directly from environment. We have just been arguing like Taine: one cannot carry the process very far. It would be inaccurate to say that in Russia the individual is dwarfed by the largeness of the country: the Far West has not that effect on the Yankee. Further, this disease of inactivity engendered by the country can be combated by energetic habits learned in commerce or industry: the Greeks made a good fight against *Ananke*, and the Romans against malarial fever. Thus from environment we can only deduce labour, and labour will exact from us its psychological consequences.

2. *Moral facts which spring directly from the general conditions of labour.* Russian labour, whatever its object and method, is feeble, slow, and intermittent. In fact—

(*a*) The land is a land of inaction. Go into the black land and look around you for something to do: you will only find clods of earth and trees—trees to make churches, pavements, and even sandals: no materials for bricks: the tiniest output of iron comes from the furthest corner of the Empire: on the railway the only raw material is the rail itself which is cut, bent, and arranged in various simple scaffoldings: everywhere else the hand only grasps things which burn or exhaust themselves. Industry there

is obliged to import a whole world. There is so much to do that one gives up trying. Manure is left to rot at the gates into the fields. Men would rather die of hunger than clear the land. The soil produces inaction by claiming too much action.

(*b*) If, however, any one does work, it is with slowness. By digging the fertile land a little, one can put off till to-morrow hard labour on the fields; one can put off indefinitely all other work because there is no competition. Further, the soil, barely tilled, gives little return; it is badly fed: it does not retain enough strength for frequent crops. Then the dullness of the peasant is proverbial. In the towns it is rare for an order to be executed on the day promised. Further, each year there are scores of feast-days kept as holidays, and no one dreams of protesting against this rest, about twice a week, because it does not lessen his usual work.

(*c*) Lastly, when any one does work he must work intermittently. You can only do field work in the summer. In winter you can go about on a sledge; but in the seasons between there is nothing to do since you cannot find anything round you to use for home employment. Squares of embroidery, and wood-carving, give occupation for some evenings: for months together you are shut up in the *izba*, and lounge on the hearth, which plays such a part in life as to become in fairy tales a speaking personage. Thus after the comparative forced labour of the heat there is absolute torpor in the cold. Now, efforts do not succeed by their intensity only, but by their persistence. The weakness of Russian energy is that it is but a flash in the pan.

For these three reasons work is unproductive.

The result is *fatalism*. The most strenuous and the most refined natures have at certain times childish

fears. Not long since, when the peasants plundered their *seigneur's* estates, women of over eighty stayed there, in spite of threats, under the protection of suspected servants, and saying "God's will be done" with a simplicity which the French would vow to be heroism. The word most in use in the Russian language is *Zatchem?* i.e., "What use is it?"

This fatalism has the special feature of being melancholy. It is of a very different kind from the smiling fatalism of the inactive dweller in hot countries, to whom the ground brings forth its fruit with abundance, or the victorious fatalism of the inactive dweller in the deserts, to whom the direction of caravans has given a mastership of organization. The Russian countryside affords no diversion. If one endures there the surfeit of drunkenness, one does not know the joy of vintages. The irresistible force near which one vegetates is not generous like the Nile or Amur, it is the scourge of the Almighty. This air of sadness shows itself even in the most insignificant details of town life. Climb at sunset to the steeple of Ivan Veliky at Moscow. The huge village, larger than Paris, is built amid foliage: between the leaves shine colours of painted houses, rose, violet, terra-cotta, but above all green—the green of the metal roofs which blends with the green of the trees in shades of an extraordinary sweetness—above which rise into view, as if to overwhelm them, and flash in the slanting light the golden crosses and golden cupolas of hundreds of steeples. In the street it is the same thing. Men have slow speech, the popular airs are as sober as hymns, in many restaurants the meals are accompanied by great organs: the whole Russian spirit sings in a minor key.

Fatalism, sadness, and severity of climate give to Russians, faced with danger, suffering, or death, an heroic endurance. One knows how patiently the peasants go to a war from which they know that they will never return. I have seen a little child who, playing with an axe, cut his arm to the bone, and let himself be bandaged without even a tear! In a story, "an old woman, while cutting the cabbages, cut her little finger; she pulled it off and threw it behind the stove," with an unconcern which the story-teller clearly stamps on character. People have often told me of peasants who, at the approach of death, lay on the hearth, their gaze fixed on the *icon*, waiting with superhuman indifference. A popular song, which I read in the collection of Rybnikof, describes soldiers whose *shakos* "weigh a pood," and whose steps are "heavy" like those of "cattle": the battle finishes thus, "If one hand can no longer shoot, the other takes its place; if one leg falls, the other remains upright; when one shoulder has been shot through, the heart of the soldier is not shaken; when we can do nothing more with bullets, we resist with our breasts; and when our breasts can do no more, we yield our souls to God." These souls are reservoirs of resignation. I said just now that the first word in the Russian language is *Zatchem?* I was mistaken. It is *Nitchevo*, "It is nothing."

It would be rash to try and go further with this deduction; the general features of labour give too inadequate a starting-point. We shall get more results from inquiring into family and communal life.

3. *Moral facts flowing from the communal life which labour necessitates.*

Russian labour may be defined as the widespread tillage of a scantily populated land. From that, as we have already seen, and doubtless also from its

pastoral origin, comes the semi-patriarchal household, and the arrangement of many such households in a village community called the *mir*. This system keeps a person in subjection to his elders long after he has attained to manhood. Hence among the people there is an air of submission, on which I do not lay stress, because it is due in part to historical causes, e.g., serfdom.

Further, the twofold community (i.e., of the family and of the *mir*) checks all initiative. M. Demolins, in *Migration*, says, "The communal group is in fact the prop, the guard, the parental protection, towards which the individual turns in proportion as he feels himself weaker and more powerless, his life harder, his lot more cruel. It is specially in these moments that a member of the community fears above all else isolation, that he dreads being left to himself, his own unaided strength and initiative. His initiative! So far there has been nothing to call it out and train it. He is still too near the steppe for it to have been formed!

AN OLD BEGGAR.

Let me give an illustration. There is no initiative in giving orders, since the married son living on by his father's hearth does not learn to take the headship of his family.

There is no initiative in money-making, since, for lack of personal ownership, one does not even dream of making furniture comfortable or clothes tidy. There is no initiative in virtue, because the women remain chaste through having no temptation, and every one knows what becomes of so many female servants in towns. Does any one try to get away from the community? He soon finds he must go back! When *abroks* distributed by lot fall on *moujiks* who do not feel any compulsion to profit by them, their only desire is to dispose of them to the more enterprising, and thus fall back again themselves into the security of serfdom. When any one emigrated it was not to look out at all hazards for opportunities in his travels of independent action. No sooner has he left the community of the family than he surrenders to the community of the *artèle*. "And that is how every one here who makes a breach in the community has in the long-run only buttressed up the communal spirit." If the community is an evil, there is no other remedy than the evil itself. Its very feebleness makes it last.

This want of initiative is manifested in various ways:—

(*a*) Improvidence. What is the good of distressing oneself about to-morrow, since the community is responsible? No vice has ever been checked by fear of its consequences: away with realism! The State is obliged to establish compulsory insurance against fire, for the peasant discovers it to be immoral to struggle by pecuniary magic against the will of God.

(*b*) Routine. You must do as the old people do because the old people are your heads. Starving villages would rather let the sorrel which grows wild perish than use it for soup "which has never been

done." When Peter the Great reformed the Calendar many persons rose in rebellion on the ground that it was a sacrilege to interfere with the seasons "established by God."

(*c*) Want of hygiene. There is no ventilation in the winter for the houses, which are doubly closed. People sleep with all their clothes on, and in spite of baths are never clean. They never take any exercise. In these circumstances epidemics spread enormously, and the death rate among little children is heavy. It is this infant mortality which in statistics gives the impression that life is shorter in Russia than elsewhere.

These are social rather than moral defects; but our method allows us to go further, and after the merits and defects to state the virtues and vices.

Common sense allows a rough classification of vices under the name of deadly sins. The selection is somewhat arbitrary. One idea has, however, governed it. Deadly sins are the elementary vices from which the rest follow, the almost physiological vices which one could only extirpate at the cost of extirpating the race itself from the soil which produced them. Assuredly every people has vices, but the proportion varies, and it is this which matters.

Again, a short investigation is enough to show that the Russian commits more easily than most people the sins of sloth, lust, and gluttony, but less than most others the sins of pride, envy, and avarice. Not much thought is required to explain this. Russia has a minimum of organization. There one is often nearer the state of nature than of civilization. Hence people yield there more easily to the primitive sins, drawn from our animal nature, than to the more refined sins which are the result of

association. Thus the first rank includes sloth, gluttony, and lust, and after them are pride, avarice, and envy.

(*a*) The *moujik* sins through sloth. Do you doubt it? All the foregoing pages have demonstrated his inertia, and it is but a step from enforced to to voluntary idleness.

(*b*) He sins through gluttony. There are *moujiks* who having become millionaires allow themselves, and not infrequently, those amazing feasts where at dessert champagne bottles are flung at the mirrors after the restaurant keeper has been asked for the bill. As for the poor *moujik*, he is so poor that he can only drink, for his fare is usually gruel, and *chchi*—thin *chchi* without meat, and almost without vegetables, in which you would hardly recognize the generous dish already described (p. 27). Add in extenuation the need for tonics in that cold climate. The only one within reach, in Great Russia, is *vodka*, a brandy made of grain, much weaker than our brandy. The peasant drinks it only on Sunday for want of the eight kopecks required, but as he is so ill-fed the least glass is enough to intoxicate him: he is often tipsy, rarely a confirmed drunkard, and I venture to say that as a rule the Russian drinks less than the Frenchman.

(*c*) He sins through lust. This is due to men and women being so much with each other, and to want of occupation. It is remedied by early marriages, at seventeen years for lads: but that prevents nothing when the husband is away for several months. The husband himself despises the flesh too much to put any restraint on himself when in town. After all, are neighbouring peoples much better? At least the Russians have no solicitation. Their manners are wanting less in purity than in refinement.

(*d*) On the other hand the Russians are not proud. They owe this to the communal system which gives them no opening for self-advancement. The artizan keeps on making ugly and substantial goods: he never tries to achieve a masterpiece which will distinguish him. The workmen at the time of the bomb-throwing found it quite natural to be searched on entering the factories. The deep obeisance of the peasants irritates me. But what stirs me is the "mea culpa" after reproof, more prompt still than the fault. Russians feel keenly not only their inferiority but their sin.

(*e*) The Russians are not envious. Most of them know that they can never rise out of their station; the only authority they can ever wield is bestowed less on merit than on age; they have no liking for the honour which is bought with responsibility. Not only are they not envious but they pity the Russian *barin* because he lives like a wolf, and the foreign *barin* because he has too much to do.

(*f*) For the same reasons the Russian is not avaricious. But here we are touching on the nature of property. We shall return to it presently.

I have forgotten anger, which is, as with all fitful natures, infrequent and terrible. You will forgive me, I hope, for not having strictly adhered to the arrangement of the Catechism! This inquiry into the deadly sins and corresponding virtues can be summed up in one sentence, "The Russian practises in a special degree the third theological virtue of charity."

The outgrowth of elementary virtues, charity, is still the first-fruit of the patriarchal system. I admire those old servants who can enter your room without knocking, and whose boundless respect is so well linked with a protecting air, protecting till

death. It was the general rule in olden times. To-day the patriarchal system is weaker. However, one sees traces of it where one thinks it could never have found its way; here a servant was insulted at being tipped, there a workman asked his manager to "thee and thou" him. Also in towns one sees charity, mixed, however, with inertia, in an easy-going familiarity. When a *gorodavoi* (policeman) meets a drunkard, instead of hurrying to get him off to prison he makes him a long moral discourse, letting himself be insulted with marvellous patience. When any one has forgotten to put a stamp on a letter the post does not, as with us, mark it "twenty centimes to pay," but the postman explains courteously to the recipient or his *dvornik* that it is overlooked this time, but must not happen again! Between superiors and inferiors there are not those dictatorial relations which we think necessary to maintain authority: a Grand Duke arriving at a military school begins by offering cigarettes to the officials he has come to inspect! When one peasant meets another in the street with a cigarette in his lips, it is quite usual to ask him, "Brother, would you let me smoke?" The stranger allows him

A POLICEMAN.

a few puffs from his cigarette and they part never to meet again. "Brother" is rightly the address of a Russian to a Russian. Russia is a family in which no one dares scold his neighbour; it is only the intense life which allows it.

The patriarchal system has two further consequences of which the range will be manifest mostly in the intellectual sphere.

(*a*) Owing to the communal system, which makes a regular organization of each group, *Russian life is but ill differentiated.* There is a poor differentiation of labour: e.g., there is no difference between the workmen whom we call carpenter, joiner, cabinet-maker; the same man does the three kinds of work, and the finest mouldings of a door are hewn with an axe. Property is ill differentiated, since grants in aid made by the *seigneur* cause ignorance as to whether certain things belong to him or to the peasants. Public authority is ill differentiated, since the council of elders has charge at the same time of land registry and of justice. Hence the mutual relations of men have never called for a precise code. Many workmen make no charge, being satisfied with that which their employer thinks well to give them—and that incidentally is one of the causes of "tips." Many others would much rather work for nothing than lose a client they like. Questions of interest are complicated — or simplified — thanks to questions of sentiment. In these matters one never learns the habit of speaking clearly, and we shall see that it is in some degree from this cause that the contempt of Russia for clear ideas proceeds.

(*b*) *The Russian is absolute at every moment of his existence.* The Western has some relativity in the smallest of his concerns. The two facts

are again due to the greater or less differentiation of labour. In our highly organized civilization one can satisfy a multitude of desires; the people have free theatres and excursion trains: but one can never get to the bottom of a thing: one is stopped by the liberties of others, the restraints of society or the example one must give. We pass to Russia. There the principle of life is all or nothing. Each authority—Tsar, or heads of families—concentrates all powers in itself, and the rest—subjects or children—have practically no virtue but obedience. That is a prime instance of absolute power and the complete want of it. But the power itself varies from omnipotence to helplessness according to circumstances. When a master gives an ordinary order, the order is without appeal; when he wishes to make a reform he is altogether stranded. One can satisfy to the utmost the desire for an orgy, because the drunkenness which follows has no consequences, not endangering the work which is never exacted, not marring a character which wine does not stain: on the contrary, if one wants a dress one must go to great expense to procure material, design, and dressmaker. One caprice is carried out without check because there is room, another, like it, is not even half carried out, because this place is empty. Also we see the Russian go to every extreme, requiring fantastic pleasures and depriving himself even of tidy clothes; devoted to his friends to the pitch of sharing their exile, and detesting those he does not adore; finding society perfect or that it deserves even the bomb for its destruction. When Russia sleeps it is a lethargy. But when any one annoys her! When three days' fast was ordained for the expulsion of the Poles from the Kremlin,

even the infants at breast had to go without food. The Russian land is boundless: the people take after it; they do not know where to stop.

We shall soon see how thought also seeks for the absolute.

In letting myself draw out this analysis I have left on one side the phenomena which concern property: I should have had to place them between "labour" and the family, but as their moral consequences are less it is enough to mention them here by the way.

4. *Moral facts resulting from confused ownership.* From the communal labour results an ownership that is ill-defined since the products of the earth are owned but not the earth itself, and the articles of furniture belong to a family without belonging to its members. This want of precision deprives the Russian in all circumstances of the exact notion of "mine" and "thine." Hence the contradictions which puzzle foreigners.

The Russian peasant seems to them a thief: he steals the wood of the landowners to the extent of laying waste the forests: he poaches without any compunction: hardly a steward is honest. On the other hand, theft is so little feared that at Moscow the fruit stalls remain all night out of doors, covered with just a cloth: there are no counterfoils in the cloak rooms: the doors rarely have locks. These two contrary tendencies have the same origin. Before 1861 the wood or the game were for any who liked to take; a decree does not change characters: one always considers the food of the *barin* as almost that of the community: yet he is the only person who is made with some coarseness to pay "drink-money." As a counter proof the indefiniteness of property makes the Russian as

disdainful of his own fortune as of that of others; he has magnificent generosity: how much has not the State received for the last war, for the war against Napoleon, and at the time of Minine and Pajarski: and if there are so many beggars it is partly because there are so many to give alms. More than in any other country the *seigneur's* greatness is tested by what he lets himself be robbed of: is it not the most discreet way of giving? Foreigners who reckon up the thefts of Russians ought to reckon up their generosities; they are as complementary as effect and cause. One fears in the West that it injures honesty: the East knows that it is only the circulation of cash.

Intellectual Facts

We are now at an unexplored point, Russian thought. You and I were taught by most philosophers that the laws of thought were universal, in spite of the diversity of climates. It is not true altogether. Our friend, Maurice Enoch, who is primarily a linguist, has undertaken to find as many logics as languages. He was right, there is a philosophical ethnography. In it one could trace the people's labour to its source. If our logic does not fall from heaven it grows from the earth along with our institutions and morals; it is the gesture of the sower which lays down our line of argument; it is a ploughshare which cuts out our ideas. To those who would complain of paradox I should intentionally select arguments from Russia.

1. *The Russian thinks more than he works.* The Russian is not an active man: it is on this simple proposition that all his intellectual psychology is

based. But the inactive are of two kinds: there are people who live off the harvest in countries which are hot and well populated. Being numerous they make neighbours of each other: they speak brightly of their neighbourhood, and are very occupied in organizing its rules. Such are our people in Southern France. They are the opposite of active, because they are garrulous. The Russians are inactive for another reason. Living in an isolated community they have no important news to receive from a distance. Living in a small community they have no important news to exchange amongst themselves. Lastly, in winter everybody stays in their *izba*, and the community of the village relapses then into the community of the family. The Russian is an inactive person, but he has no *agora*. In consequence, he does not speak, he dreams. Inaction has produced the art of oratory in sunny populous climes; in snowy and sparsely populated lands inaction produces the art of dreaming,

2. *Russian thought is metaphysical.* What do they dream about? occurrences in distant lands? notions of the surrounding country? But nothing surrounds you but space, no news ever reaches you; in the heart of the black land, the French are only known through the war of 1812, and peasants who are indignant with the manifesto of Viborg, add, however, "since it is in print the Tsar approved it." Then the world of mankind never affords them subjects for criticism, no troubles with the land lay hold on their imagination. All they can foresee is the next famine or fatal conflagration. The dream turns on the problems of destiny. The snow which drifts round their double windows makes each *izba* a wonderful oratory for the inner life.

That is why the Russian peasant is extremely metaphysical. I am running counter to the general opinion according to which he is backward and even a little stupid: but he is simply ill-informed: I have just quoted one instance of his social innocence: do you want more? In the early days of Nicholas I he called the constitution "Constitoutsia," and thought it was the wife of the Grand Duke Constantine. At some other period he became uneasy about "absolute power." "Another fresh power! we have our Tsar! he has always been enough for us! let him do what he likes!" I could amuse you for some pages. They would not prove anything, for we have learnt not to confound an illiterate and a dolt. Among the peasants I have seen, many had faces refined both in feature and expression, their speech was concise, their conversation brisk, their smile mischievous: the nobles who, however, are not more sparing of their scorn than of their kindness, think themselves superior to the country bumpkins, and so they are, if one is to judge of bumpkins, as they do, in the Zola fashion. They are not mere bumpkins, who would leave their fields for a whole day to enjoy a gallop and return thoroughly despondent because they have learnt that the world is ill-made. You know the old stories of the peasants who met at the Kremlin for religious discussion, and when a rich person disguised as a *moujik* mixed with them they were astonished that he could argue as well as they. Often a dozen will meet in an *izba*: one or two can read, and more; they make out some lines of the Gospel, and all comment on it. The *moujiks* speak, they even speak all at once, but speech is for them only the handmaid of theology. Their gatherings are not Parliaments, but Councils.

Nothing, then, is more false than to say that Russia "is still in our thirteenth century." In the thirteenth French century work on the land dulled the edge of the spirit; in the nineteenth Russian century leisure whets it. The Russian is more like a nomad than a tiller of the soil. That is, as far as the peasants are concerned. As for the *barin*, having nothing to do on his land and travelling about in the world, he seems more like a nomad than the *moujik* does. He is more even than the *moujik* inclined to metaphysic. This propensity, then, is characteristic of the whole nation.

3. *Russian thought is teleological.* This characteristic of Russian thought results again from the conditions of work. An active people whose whole thought is turned to industry or politics is concerned every moment with efficient causes. In presence of an idea its first question is "How can we realize it?" Thus in its spirit is woven a canvas of causality on which it works all its impressions, so well that in the speculative study of a past occurrence it only seeks at first for the intrigues which led up to it. Not so the Russian. More used to great dreams than to slender realizations he does not find causality "interesting." War is declared; a Western says, "How shall we win?" a Russian will say, "Why did God send it?" A thesis of history is propounded: the Western looks into the causes, the Russian evolves a philosophy. He sees "in continents." His categories are prophetic. That is what is so peculiarly fascinating in the conversation of Russians. A character in one of Dumas fils' books, I think, says that men in a drawing-room can only be nuisances or bores. Dumas fils was a Parisian. No Russian could have said it. When taking tea a Russian asked me a

poser, "What do you think of the Trinity?" The tone was so natural that I felt myself immediately at ease, and we talked till long after midnight: mysteries of the future more familiar than facts of the present, cathedral language spoken in a tone of confidence, secrets of the confessional murmured over a cigarette. The interior thought and the teleological thought nevertheless call for each other: to return into oneself is to understand that life has a meaning: to seek for the final cause of the visible world is to lose sight of the visible world: and these two acts of the spirit issue from the circumstances of labour.

4. *Contempt for clear ideas.* I note further in the Russian a contempt for clear ideas; many would say an incapacity, I adhere to the word contempt. There is an economic reason for it. The daily use of contracts, written or spoken, which the Romans acquired with the knowledge of the boundaries of their fields, was of special use in getting ideas clear. Roman law is one of the things to which Latin perspicuity is due. The other is, among the peoples of the Mediterranean, leisure and the joy of loitering in the sun in public places, and naturally, of discussing business there in suitable words. In Russia no one has these conflicts of rights, no one has the gossip in the open air which makes the individual thus clear in his ideas. The current thought is "vague." "Vagueness" persists, naturally, in refined thought. The Russian can hardly tell a fault from an error. The fact of being an old man carries with it infallibility and virtue. Then a fault is always a lapse in good feeling, and an error is never innocent. The ideas of error of the spirit only and of a fault in which the spirit had no part are abstract and impoverished ideas. We feel them suitable, the

A Typical Country Dance.

Russian thinks them artificial. That is why he sincerely prefers above them the notion more illusory, more rich, more true, in which both are combined.

From refined thought let us go to the most abstract thought—the scientific. Science proceeds from the most minute division of labour. Different people study weight, heat, light; specialists employ, one the scales, another the thermometer, a third the prism. If what we have said is true, Russians—except in a few isolated cases which prove nothing—have not the temperament for *savants*: it was, of course, a Russian who said of his fellow-countrymen, "The only thing they have given the world is the Samovar." They are not inventors because they are poets or artists. I do not refer to the leading spirits, I have in mind good, honest folk among the people. Nearly all the Russians I know printed a volume of poetry in their youth, and one of my kinsmen spent whole days in his bed verse making. In the country the enjoyment of young girls is found in slow roundelays, and the *moujiks* are wonderfully skilful at part-singing. The Russian spirit has not, in the least, that power of abstraction which leads to industrial discoveries; nothing pleases him but harmony; he thinks in chords, his ideas are harmonious. Lastly, poor and clear ideas allow of fruitful deductions, while ideas which are complete and vague only allow of magnificent contemplation; since the distinction has been made amongst natural forces of colourless volume and measurable pressure, these can be submitted to calculation, their reactions foreseen, their effects controlled; if one leaves them all their radiant brightness one enjoys them too much to make them serviceable; the first method is that of

active, the second that of dreamy, peoples, and thus the irrationalism of Russia arises out of its labour.

5. *Care for the absolute.* The Russian thinks in the absolute because he lives in the absolute. He finds it impossible to show to the same man two countenances—one suitable to his daily work, the other to the drawing-room ; thus he does not understand that two persons can behave amongst strangers "with society manners," and amongst friends "with home ways." It is, or it is not ; there is no medium. Let us pass on to scientific thought.

Our science proceeds from our industry. The physicist when analysing ingredients by the electric current, finds indivisible bodies which he calls atoms. These atoms are relative to the method of division, which in this case is electricity ; these, therefore, are electric atoms. The chemist, heating the same substances, arrives at other indivisible bodies, relative to heat and called chemical atoms. Neither the physicist nor the chemist thinks he has found the absolute atom, they know that their two sciences are relative to two of our processes. All the ideas with which science has inspired us are in the same way relative to our needs, to start from the same ideas of science, of fact, and of truth. The Russian, for want of any tradition of industry, has not the scientific spirit, that is, the spirit of relativism. For him science, philosophy, art, are equally called to the mission of solving enigmas. That is why he will have as much difficulty in admitting a science which does not explain the heart of things, a truth which is not for all times, as in excusing a justice which does not suit all countries, a charity which will not ruin itself for all men.

The link between the irrational and the absolute can be foreseen without going outside intellectual

phenomena. Every clear idea is a mutilated idea; in the "vital function" we can distinguish and at the same time create nervous, respiratory, circulatory, digestive, chemical functions; but these functions really depend on each other; there is no respiration without circulation, no biological chemistry without biological physics; each of these sciences needs the complement of the others; they are mutually "relative." On the contrary, he who grasps, or thinks he grasps the living organism in a single intuition, possesses a notion of it sufficiently clear to be enough in itself. He who thinks in clear ideas thinks necessarily in relations, and he who is content with the irrational ends up inevitably with the absolute. But relativism issuing from the differentiation of industry, and this differentiation being a condition of fruitfulness, we see, for the fiftieth time, a trait of the Russian spirit proceeding from Russian labour.

6. *The cogency of ideas amongst the Russians.* It is, however, now easy to understand why the Russians let themselves be so easily led by ideas. The "intelligentsia" and the people risk their life, the one for a phrase of Karl Marx, the other for the old calendar. This is called neurotism in the first instance, superstition in the second. It is neither the one nor the other. With a Russian the idea is so rich that it is both feeling and action, and when he has the air of obeying nothing but it, he is obeying a harmonious unity. In France an *idée-force* means an idea which will become a force; in Russia there are *idées-forces* without a feature of that union which the word implies.

A special instance of this deserves particular attention. Among these *idées-forces* are ideas of foreign introduction, which the Russians have hardly taken into their life. Strange as this seems, the Russian

pushes Western principles to their extremes; he is soon bored with his intellectual researches; he seems to the Western to have a superficial spirit. These three merits or defects proceed from his often turning over his conduct in his thoughts without criticism, or deliberation, or check.

We Westerns are clear, but not always vigorous in our logic. We admit at one and the same time a physical determinism which would suppress human liberty, and a liberty of the person which approaches the reign of autonomy. In spite of the efforts of philosophers the two theses contradict each other. However, we profess them both together. We do not profess them to their extremes. This is because they proceed from social life, and because we take from them only that which has a social application. Of the determinism which we are considering, we have gained an intuition through science; of the liberty, through exercising ourselves in public life, and we know quite well where the laboratory and forum end. But the Russian who has neither laboratory nor forum can only be a fanatical partisan either of our determinism or of our liberty. Let me give another example. In the West one reconciles in fact two theories which are irreconcilable in law. "Property is sacred." "Property is theft." Our tradition has taught us that there is a lawful ownership because it gives opportunity of employment, and an unrighteous ownership because it gives opportunity of money-making. On this point discussion in books is very fine-spun; and practical decision very simple. But the Russian who has only a confused experience of property wishes to find exclusive truth in one or other of the two theories, it matters not which.

Determinism and ownership are not, then, in

Russia living realities but abstract ideas. So it is with many notions which are at the foundation of society in the West. Consequently—

(*a*) When a Russian argues about them he cannot dream of keeping them, from his experience, in proportion. He makes a social geometry of them. All he asks of them is to form a system. He draws from them endless corollaries. Accordingly in the European universities his only quest is for what can be stated in formulas: in France essays on politics, in Germany Biblical criticism.

(*b*) If the Russian only wishes to comprehend our ideas with the head, it is useless for him to try and realize the experience which through the centuries has drawn them slowly from our life. He has enough time to read a book. Then he assimilates them quickly. Next, as he is no longer drawing daily applications from them, he soon has enough of their contemplation. He collects them out of curiosity, and in boredom throws them away. Think of the Russians who call upon you without being able to settle down on any subject any more than they can settle in a hotel.

(*c*) Lastly, as he does not satisfy our conceptions of the realities from which we have deduced them, the Russian seems to us superficial. We only praise in him a prodigious memory, at most a prodigious ease in assimilation. But he, in his turn, thinks us superficial because we misrepresent his rich thoughts in making them clear. To say the truth, I ask myself whether this dreamy people, in the world's opinion, is not much deeper than those who are only concerned with the conveniences of life.

But whether they be Eastern or Western, all these ideas pass quickly into action (the bomb, desire for the absolute) and they are ready for

the consequences (Siberia, the risk of a hero). It is then that Russia becomes truly Russian once more.

7. *Russian mysticism.* One last point remains. The Russian is mystical in believing that occurrences take place without our intervention.

I explain this again by the social organization. We (in the West) are not mystics because each of us gets something by his work: there is a balance between the effort and the result: nothing happens in our world without our regulation. On the contrary, in the East all depend entirely on a patron: they get more by petition than by work. Incidents occur which the master has foreseen in some unknown way, and this ignorance leads them to believe in him for the small things which they have produced themselves. As for the great things, they are satisfied with a *fiat*, for rousing into action, for calling into life, the works of which the mechanism has so far escaped them. The empty space between cause and effect is filled up by mysticism. The only exception is in the daily occurrences of village life, where the peasant is a man of complete good sense; that is why people sometimes say the Russian is not mystical. Again, they say he is not mystical because he has no ghosts except the *domavoi* or *genius* of the house. But the word mystic has many meanings. I hope that my use of it is clear. Would you all the same like to have a fact to determine it?

Recently in the Russian countryside the peasants were confident that the Duma had charms for giving them land: they never stopped to think from whom it would be taken, nor what would be asked in return for it: in presence of the young people who bruited about the catchwords of the revolutionaries,

the old men who in days of yore had been kings in their *mirs* retired pleasantly, fancying that after all they had nothing to lose. Their general tactics were to irritate the landowner by incessant small fires; they fancied that if he were out of the way all they would have to do would be to divide his property: it took some months for the old men to escape from the witchery of a fixed idea, and understand that at the end of the reckoning they would always have to pay. It is excess of such sentiment which drives malcontents to preach revolt, as if when this society were destroyed a perfect society would come down from heaven. It is not the first time that the people have expected it. Over and over again impostors succeed to impostors without disgusting their partisans. There are not two countries for the false Dmitris and the false Peter III's. Let me, then, here conclude my sketch of Russian mysticism.

The Want of Balance

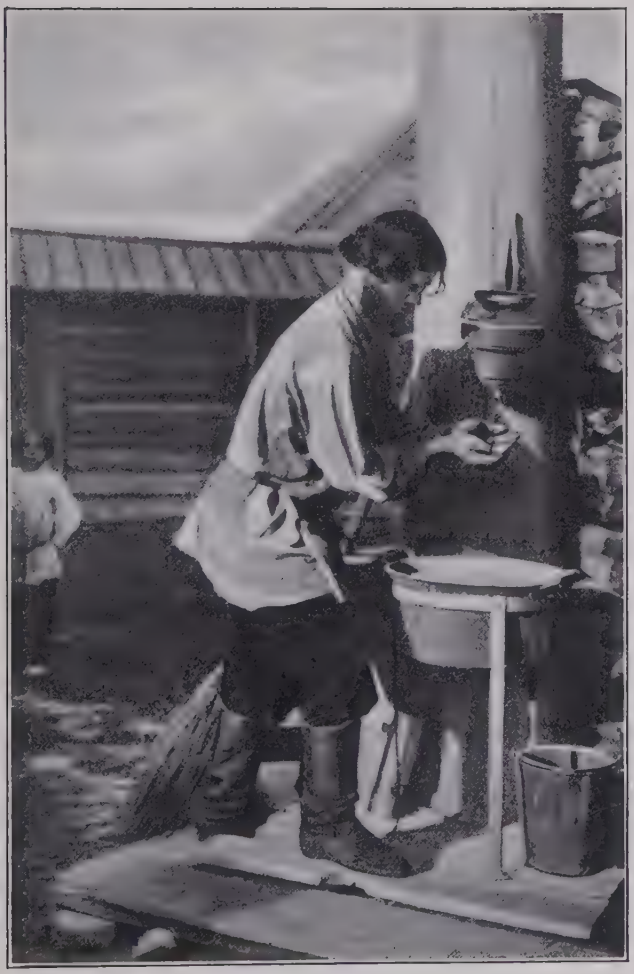
Little by little we have built up a statue of earth and snow, a fine figure in repose, heavy feet, peaceful knees, short waist, doleful neck, the hand stretched towards necessary companions, the head indifferent to easy progress, the forehead wrinkled by a cosmogonic regret, the great eyes open on a rude and vague idea, the lip ready for the infrequent joys of life, the cheeks moist with the happiness of being good. On the pedestal is inscribed, "The communal *Moujik*." Little by little the statue grows animated: its gestures are harmonious, the character is consistent. But, to abandon metaphor, the true Russian is an enigma. If his portrait

is logical, it is not like him. It needs to be touched up.

One can sum it all up in a formula—Individualism inseparable from the communal system. We have seen that in Russia the peasant is specially communal, the *seigneur* specially individualist. This first sketch is a little off the mark. Some phases of communal life belong to the nobility, some phases of the individualist life to the people.

You understand without difficulty that the nobles, exposed to the same climate and warming themselves with stoves, have, like the peasants, a certain amount of indolence, of fatalism, or of good-nature. But it is the mass of country people which interests me, and I aim at proving its individualism.

People let themselves think that communal and individualist are two contradictory terms because of the *a priori* definition that communists live in common and individualists live alone. That is mere philology and nothing more. The characteristic of individual life is the "absence of restraint." This is to be found as much with the peasant as the noble. There is no restraint in the family community, for when one of the sons is slack at his work there is only diminution by one unit amongst several, and the father prefers all suffering to incessant punishment. There is no restraint in the communal community; the duels with axes, which are not infrequent amongst *moujiks*, are judged by the council of elders, which tries to reconcile everybody by calling on all to clink glasses. The second community takes its model from the first. Travellers report that Russians live under "the authority of the father of the family," and we have learnt that the father of the family wields "authority" similar to that of our police. It is not so. Authority has two



A Russian Workman.

meanings in the two countries. We must not say "the Russian system is so autocratic that the fathers themselves act by authority," but, "Russian life is so tranquil that no more is wanted for its guidance than the authority which fathers possess." Yes; work, justice, and all else goes on "in papa's way." The peasant is so little used to being coerced that when his carriage comes to a stone on the road, he prefers driving round it to getting down to move it away, and you can see in the country windings in the wheel-tracks which have no other cause. The Russian, when obstacles arise, slips away.

The habit of not being thwarted persists in the big towns. Complacency is there at its height. Two men fight in the street till the blood flows, but for the cause and result of their quarrel no passer-by disturbs himself. People walk barefoot in the finest streets of Moscow, sing at the top of their voice in the tramcar, lie down at full length on the benches of refreshment-rooms. A coachman gallops across a square at racing speed. In the train one spreads out, as if at home, pillow and tea-service. No one likes neighbours at the theatre. There is as little regard for the world's opinion in making the sign of the cross before the churches as in being tipsy before inferiors. Students discover a menace to their liberty in being examined as a preliminary to receiving their diploma. Even school children assert the right to "strike." I had forgotten to say that women of all ranks receive visitors in their dressing-gowns: it is only a trait, but it is significant such people are for ever smoking: the Russian nation wears no stays.

When comparing the characteristics of submission and independence, many observers do not understand that they are dealing with the same people. It must

be understood. The groupings produce two opposite effects according as they are compact or loose. In a large community living in a small space one learns from being inconvenienced not to inconvenience other people: in a little community with large resources one can do everything which comes into one's head without becoming a nuisance. This is the case of the Russian community. People there keep side by side enough to feel support, but not enough to feel constraint. It is true that the *mir* suppresses personality, but it does it without suffering. He who is unhappy has to kill his superficial longings and stir into fresh life the energy deep-seated within.

If we pass from communal to political life, can you now guess what any Russian understands by *authority* and *liberty*? Living in community he needs authority; he loves it more than he fears it, for it shelters him more than it oppresses. Thus an old peasant was housed and fed by the *seigneur*: then this peasant was so dirty that the steward threatened to send him away, if he did not mend his ways, the peasant begins to laugh. "The *barin*," quoth he, "cannot send me away because I am a poor man who would, if he did not help me, die of hunger." In the actual crisis the peasants everywhere fancied the Duma to be composed of friends both of the Tsar and of the people, and its dissolution was a blow contrived by the *seigneurs* both against them and against the Tsar, but they never dreamed that any one dare think of going contrary to the person who had power enough to be able in years of dearth to send them corn to the ends of their barren country.

On the other hand the Russian, in so far as he is individualist, revolts against this authority which he loves. After the dissolution of the Duma orders

were given for saying in all the churches after the Mass, *malebenes*, i.e., prayers for God to enlighten the government of the Emperor; in one village when the priest began them the peasants left the church in a body, asserting that they would never say the *malebene* for their *barin*. In a square in Moscow the sweepers get to work while the tramway is being laid: the wind comes: the dust rises, it is rather unpleasant: a passer-by came up to me excitedly, "There's our police! they sweep when it is dry, and if it were wet would water! We ought to have a Revolution! If only we were in France!"

Some details will show the gradual transition from communism to individualism. The first affect the principal of equality. In a community where the impossibility of enterprise hinders the most talented from raising themselves above their fellows there is no reason why all men should not be on a rigorous equality, then one would maintain political equality not as a conquest but as a custom. Further, work in the fields is the business of women even more than of men, and the men by the hearth gossip and dream. The men are refined from the *izba*, and literary critics have asserted that their soul is really a feminine soul; the woman on the other hand acquires manly qualities: mistress of her property, she wishes to be mistress of her destiny. The Russian woman is perhaps the leading woman of Europe. Pushed to extremes her qualities degenerate into the faults of the student.

Parallel with that of the principle of equality is the evolution of the principle of autonomy. It also proceeds from communal life. As all are equal each is sacred. Since the origin of the *mir* only unanimous decisions can be accepted. Thence comes the habit of respecting the individual at

THE NEVSKY PROSPECT, S. PETERSBURG.

any rate in his fancies. No one is more indulgent than the Russian to the caprices of love. No one is less astonished at an officer turning actor. There are no perpetual vows, no social prejudices.

To the word "fraternity," then, the communists add—by your favour—the terms "equality" and "liberty." The fashion in which they understand them is not the best of their business. These two words have been the cause of frightful insurrections. The history of Russia is full of them. To show you the catastrophes due to them think (i) of the troubled days after the death of Boris Godounof (1606–1613), when a false Dmitri got himself crowned, only to be murdered a year later by the boyars; when a second false Dmitri, after having roused the peasants and slaves, came and set up within twelve versts of Moscow a camp and court; when the Tsar Vassili Chouïski was deposed by the "humble request" of the boyars and bourgeois of revolted Moscow; when his successor was found in Vlasdislas of Poland, and the Poles, established in the Kremlin, were obliged to set fire to the city in order to clear its approaches: (ii) under Alexis Mikhailovitch, the revolt of Razine, 1670, a cossack of the Don, who made such a name as a freebooter and wizard that not only did he in the whole country of the Volga and the Don raise the peasantry, but the town militia surrendered to him, and peaceable merchants turned pirates for his benefit: (iii) under Catherine II, in 1771, the plague of Moscow, when the people who crowded to kneel at the feet of an icon of the Virgin massacred the Archbishop Ambrose who tried to hinder them; and two years afterwards, the alarm of Pougatchof, a Cossack from the Ural, who pretended to be Peter III, received from the priests bread and

salt, fought for a whole year the troops of Catherine, did over again and to a worse degree what Razine had done, while at the head of the angry peasants of the false Pougatchof, slew the *seigneurs* and burned the towns which the true had spared. Where fear of the Tsar ends fear of brigands begins: autocracy is not insupportable: rebellion is in the blood.

This bygone history is reproduced with some modifications in the present crisis. Let me summarize the last troubles of the Great Russian villages. Nearly everywhere the peasants asked for land from the *seigneur*, and many thought that annoyances would be enough to make him leave it to them. The worst type now fired his hay, now killed his horses. Sometimes a workman with a yellow passport or revolutionary proclamation would come and excite the whole village. For many days the peasants, men and women, would hide themselves round the orchard where the apples were ripe: they would send their children to steal apples in the hope that they would get beaten: that would be the moment they were waiting for to rush in, smash, burn, "have a strike," *zabastovka*, as they call it. If the servants are wise nothing happens. Then, one fine Sunday, a deputation of *moujiks* goes to find the *pametschik* to have a talk with him about the land. They are obliged not to drink too much. The elders are there but they dare not so much as speak. The young men give their opinions and they do not agree. No one knows exactly why they have come. With a tone at once friendly and commanding the *seigneur* who wishes to sell can easily get his own way. The price of the bargain has to be fixed: the *moujiks* offer 150 roubles, the *barin* asks 180; after discussion they agree on 175, and this deduc-

tion of five roubles, which in France would be thought a token of fear, seems to these Russians a mark of great condescension. At a given signal they swear friendship, and oaths and contracts are confirmed with great crossings of themselves. Next day the women come and say to the *barin*, "If you see our children going to take your apples beat them, and we will beat them too." But the second day after a stone thrown in the garden injures a servant. All is over. Everything begins afresh. This will last for months. They pass in turn from respect for the *seigneur* to craving for destruction. The news of the district round, which only comes in scraps, prolongs their hesitation; here some rebels have plundered a castle; there the village is encouraged; elsewhere other rebels have killed the *ispravnik*: this time every one is indignant. But above all, in this absolute isolation, inactivity depresses to listlessness, and expectation stimulates them to excitability. The flatness of the horizon is benumbing in its monotony and maddens with its changelessness. Go there and you will see.

Then, for the Russian, authority is patronage, liberty is licence. He wishes to be governed and torments the Government. He can obey the Tsar and disobey the laws. He is obsequious and he is an anarchist. In one sense he is the least free of all peoples, for the liberty of a people is made up of the harmony of their wills: in another sense they are the most free of mankind, in that freedom of the solitary made by unbridling the fancies. They are like the horse of the steppes, imprisoned in the herd where it voluntarily places itself, but having the illusion of galloping where it likes.

Now we are beginning to understand the want of balance in the Russian. It has several causes.

MILK-WOMAN.

It is, perhaps, that extreme climate, which, fashioning him at the same time to bear heat and cold, ought by a physiological process unknown to me to make of him a double being. There are next the enforced rests of the long winters, which, in the case of one whom nothing else can enervate, provokes at certain moments reactions of life under the form of explosive outbreaks. Further, there is the fusion of thoughts, sympathies, and efforts, which, concentrating him entirely on the work in hand, can only change his activity by a complete change of front. His mysticism makes him live at the same time in the past and the future, the true and the false, indolence and rudeness. Lastly, there is the double result of his communal life, servitude and independence. That is why a Russian has been compared to a slumbering volcano, a sleeping cat, a capricious woman. All these metaphors are in some degree justified, for all express his continual, disturbing, grievous, and charming responsiveness of soul.

Religious Consequences

The religious consequences are at once apparent. The Russians were predisposed to receive Christianity. There were several causes for it.

1. *In practice.* The Latins have such beautiful homes that they dream of dividing them up for their descendants, and the immortality which seems most natural to them is survival in their children: their true pastors are philanthropists—their true wonder-workers are the doctors: in making this vale of tears fit to live in they forget the promise of a kingdom: a happy man has great difficulty in being

a Christian. But the Russian land is hard and calamities abound there. On the one hand, life there is not worth living, and, on the other, people recognize that they are in the hands of an Almighty Power in which one is called upon only to hope. The Russian is, first and foremost, a nomad: he camps in his life as if in his circuit of travel: he is ready to strike his tent for what is ahead.

2. *In thought.* The Russian cannot tolerate rationalism, which is, in the West, a great enemy of religion, dispelling mystery for clearness, denying the Supreme absolute in the name of a besetting relativism, disregarding the final causes of actions by dint of seeking the nearest causes of them, making God superfluous because the only god in question is human reason. When the Russian has grasped Christian truth he ought not immediately to eliminate God from his thoughts.

3. *In social relations* If it is true that Christianity can be expressed in its fullness in the behest of the aged Apostle, "Love one another," by what subterfuge or hypocrisy is it followed by Western Christians whose daily rule is "the struggle for life," when the Russians with all their patriarchal traits have "Christian blood," as the Chinese have "yellow colour?"

4. Lastly, when religion was preached to the Slavs, it did not find, as with the Romans, a paganism sufficiently strong to call to its defence all civil institutions. In his *History of Russia* (p. 31), Alfred Rambaut says: "The Russians seem to have had, in the exact meaning of the word, neither temples nor priests: they erected obscene idols on a few hills, they worshipped each oak tree consecrated to Peroun: the chiefs of the people offered the sacrifices." M. Louis Leger in his *Cyril and Methodius*

(p. 33), after having explained the importance of the religious organization among the Baltic Slavs, adds: "It was not the same with them as with the other Slavs: their worship had an entirely patriarchal character. The prince or head of the family discharged the priestly functions which were reduced to a few prayers and a few sacrifices." Bear in mind that he had no more civil authority than that of head of a canton. Thus the last obstacle to the establishment of Christianity was removed. In harmony with the Slav aspirations, and for lack of institutions opposed to it, it was natural not only that Christianity should enter Russia, but that it should impregnate and control and shape its whole life. In that it succeeded.

There is an icon in the corner of each room, in the entrance-hall of each hotel, beside each counter, and from that comes the custom of baring the head on entering shops. Each year at the parish feast the priest goes to bless every house. On the 1st of August, at the end of Mass, he blesses the water of the river or of the pool, and then immediately afterwards the horses are plunged in it. Marriage is a sacrament more than a contract, there is no ceremony but the religious ceremony, and the priest keeps the registers of the civil status. The greatest of all crimes is sacrilege, and the recent theft of the Icon of Kazan has caused more disturbance than was caused in France by our last pillage of the churches. Religious ties take precedence of natural ties: and it is more serious to kill the godfather than the father. Religion penetrates everywhere.

It overflows also into the streets. Moscow has no less than 700 churches. Often they are open to the footway. Between the churches images are enshrined in the walls of houses and a lamp burns before them.

Processions often pass through the town, processions of rich metallic banners, which are real icons, so heavy that three men can hardly lift them: our poor friend Morel described one of them in the *Revue Catholique des Eglises*, December, 1904: add to this double golden line the bells of all the churches which ring carillons as the procession goes up to the Kremlin where bursts out the tumult of the great bells of Ivan Veliky. Amongst the images, before the banners, at sound of the bells, every one bares the head, bows, makes the sign of the cross, and does not only pray with the lips, without meaning it. The church enclosures are so sanctified that you cannot tell whether you are in the street or in the church. The walls of Moscow are one great Iconostasis.

In France piety is a choir habit which one puts on when going to Mass, and puts off on returning home. Who amongst our writers, being a Christian in his closet, has been Christian in his books? What Russian poet did not die a theologian? For my part, being half a foreigner in Moscow, I feel entranced by its holiness, and have no fear, in so writing, of being contradicted. I should not be more daring if I were in Paris. Good-bye.

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THE MONUMENT OF S. VLADIMIR, KIEV.

LETTER III

SHORT SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

DEAR PHILOSOPHER, DEAR HISTORIAN,

I am rather afraid to think about my last letter! By dint of wishing to unify opposed characters, clear up complex beliefs, systematize chaotic customs, I fancy I have given undue prominence to myself. Let me rest from those endeavours. To-day I wish simply to give you a short sketch of the history of Russian Christianity. Besides, this impersonal statement is one of the objects announced in my two first dispatches, which were like two prefaces, and it is only at this moment that I enter upon the main portion of my subject.

When the first Greek missionaries came to evangelize the Russians, the separation between the Churches of East and West was practically accomplished; and the Russian Church was naturally attached to the Church of the East. These missions took place in the days of the sons of Rurik and Askold. Whether these Russian princes made war upon or traded with Byzantium, they showed for its genius the admiration of barbarians. They also gave a favourable welcome to the priests. But the official conversion of Russia dates from S. Vladimir (972–1015). Vain, cruel, and dissolute, he had only in his

favour concern for religion, and from the date of his Baptism in the Dnieper with his nobles, he was transformed into a faithful and charitable prince. Churches and schools were built. The conversion of the Slavs is thenceforward the work of the princes and bishops. Of princes—if the wizards made the people rise against the bishops the prince did not hesitate to kill the wizard himself with an axe-stroke. Of bishops—to the Varangians who had only precarious authority as tribal chiefs, they brought all the organization of an old State, and with it music, architecture, literature, thought. These two allied powers met with very little resistance from the heathen. The political struggles of the chiefs, could, it is true, take the form of religious struggles, and paganism produced wizards who soon worked on the feelings of a people constitutionally mystical; but there was nothing in Russia to be compared with the persecutions of the Roman Empire. Hence it was possible for Christianity to turn to account rudimentary sympathies and develop them into actual virtues; love for persons of the same *mir* it could exalt into universal charity, polygamy it could flatly condemn, and thereupon was strong enough to abolish. In the Roman organization Christianity was obliged to insinuate itself unassumingly and establish itself by degrees; into the Slavonic anarchy Christianity deigned to descend full grown.

In its work the spirit of the princes and the spirit of the bishops were made complete. According to the Church legislation of S. Vladimir, the Church was judge of sins of abduction, adultery, divorce, and even went so far as to inspect weights and measures; but the penalty indicated in the statute of Jaroslav was, according to barbaric custom, a

money fine. However, in this joint labour Byzantine influence had most weight. To start with, Russia was, from the religious point of view, only a province of Constantinople. Its chief was a metropolitan; as with all the Eastern rulers he took no important measures without calling a Synod of his bishops; he lived in the heart of Russia at Kiev; but he was nominated and installed by the Patriarch of Byzantium, and for more than two hundred years was nearly always a Greek. Through these metropolitans, Byzantium wielded an influence, not only religious but also political. Russia thus owes the best of its national life to the Church of the East. The Varangians were only outposts of Byzantium.

Things altered when the Tartars came. Their rule, in spite of its miseries, ultimately set forward the Faith. That was the time when the Russians developed, with some failings, their qualities of humility, resignation, endurance, and a love of their orthodoxy which has become a feature of Russian character. Against the Mussulmans they had no protection but their Faith, and at certain crises, martyrdom. That is the good side. The evil was less than has been sometimes said. Persecution, being intermittent, was limited to the burning of churches. Incapable of governing, the Tartar conquerors were obliged to respect the hierarchy. Only this hierarchy became estranged from Byzantium, first, because political power was in the hands of the Horde; next, because the capital of the country was changed from Kiev to Moscow. When the Metropolitan Joseph, a Greek by birth, perished in the destruction of Kiev, the Prince of Galicia appointed as his successor a Russian, Cyril, and the patriarch agreed although he did not mean to create a precedent (1243). The Tartars again laid Kiev waste,

and as the princedoms of the Centre grew strong, the metropolitans were naturally settled at Vladimir (1299), and then at Moscow (1325). Thenceforward they could be only chosen from amongst the Russians.

In these changes the metropolitancy was broken up. The lands of the South and West, especially Lithuania, murmured at obeying and paying dues to a metropolitan whom they never saw. A struggle for jurisdiction took place between the Muscovite and Lithuanian prelates. The Patriarch of Constantinople was often sorely puzzled where to bestow the pall. The rupture became final in the fifteenth century, when the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vitovt, had, in spite of the patriarch, compelled his bishops to choose a metropolitan for themselves (1414). Some years afterwards it was the patriarch himself who recognized Erasmus, Bishop of Smolensk, as Metropolitan of Lithuania, and after a little time the metropolitans who lived at Moscow ceased to use the title of Metropolitans of Kiev. The Western metropolitancy continued to depend on Constantinople, but not the Northern. When Ivan III died (1505), the Russian territories were "reunited." Since 1453 Constantinople had been in the hands of the Turks, and the prestige of its patriarch, at the mercy of the infidels, dwindled. It was natural that a friendly separation between Constantinople and Moscow should be emphasized, and that the great respect of the Russian for the Greek Church should be turned into a simple deference. The Russian Church had, in fact, become independent.

The Metropolitans of Moscow made a grand enough figure. They did not fear opposing their episcopal sense of law to the caprice of the Tsars,

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THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY WISDOM. AGIA SOPHIA. CONSTANTINOPLE.

and Philip was martyed by Ivan the Terrible. Presiding over the greatest of the Eastern Churches they lacked the title only of patriarch.

Various events hastened the institution of the patriarchate. Boris Godounof, at the time when he sought the succession to the Tsar Feodr, wanted to make for himself friends in the Church as amongst the smaller nobility and to found a religious power, which after Feodr's death would uphold him because it owed all to him. He took advantage, in 1586, of the visit of the Patriarch of Antioch, who came to beg alms for his Church, and promised to support their project in discussion with the other Eastern patriarchs. Two years after the unhappy Patriarch of Constantinople signified their approval of it. The bishops of Russia at once met to name their patriarch. Naturally enough, the dignity was bestowed on the Metropolitan of Moscow, Job, who was devoted to Boris (1589).

The patriarchate lasted from 1589 to 1720. The Latins, who can only conceive of the first prelate of a Church by his resemblance to their Pope, attribute special glory to the Russian Church of this period. As a matter of fact, the Patriarch of Moscow had no more authority than the metropolitan whom he succeeded, only more state. His jurisdiction hardly stretched so far; he kept the same rights of justice, and when general questions arose the decision lay with the Synod, not with him: the Western principle of personal power is always displaced by the Eastern principle of conciliary action. From being metropolitan to being patriarch was no abrupt promotion.

Further, each patriarch had only the influence which his personal force won for him. Most of them were men of the highest type, and the

circumstances in which they lived were decisive in the history of Russia, e.g., the times of the troubles (1606–1613) during which the Poles were masters of Moscow, the accession of a new dynasty with Michael Romanoff (1613), the reign of Peter the Great and the period of his reforms (1682–1725). Mingled with the political history, the religious history has been involved in its abrupt changes.

The names of some patriarchs are thus well known. Hermogenes, patriarch at the time of the troubles, became suspected on account of his patriotism by the Poles: he was thrown into prison and died of starvation in 1612.

Philarete was the father of Michael Romanoff. When, after the anarchy, Michael was elected Tsar at fifteen years of age (1613), Philarete, then Metropolitan of Rostof, was a prisoner of the Poles. In 1618 the two peoples made a truce for fourteen years, and after the exchange of prisoners, Philarete returned to Moscow, where every one awaited him, as patriarch. He was more than patriarch. He was the adviser whom Michael needed, while he was yet too young and too good for such trials. Philarete bore the title of *Grand Seigneur*, in company with the Tsar received boyards and ambassadors, and, like the Tsar, signed public decrees; he governed with his son, and even governed his son. During the ten years of his pontificate he was the true saviour of Russia. His conduct was the most sublime illustration of the alliance of spiritual and temporal power.

Nikon was patriarch (1652–1658) in the reign of Alexis, son and successor of Michael Romanoff. A simple peasant's son, monk, archimandrite, Metropolitan of Novgorod, during the famine he had four

hospitals built at his own expense, and during the sedition which followed the famine he hid the threatened prince in his palace, made his way to the midst of the insurgents, who left him for dead, had himself carried, in spite of all, to the house of the insurgent chiefs, and ended by quieting them with this stubborn audacity. To this energy he joined great asceticism and great intellectual powers. He could not fail to make an impression on the Tsar. When he received the patriarchal throne Alexis wished that he would be to him what Philarete had been to Michael. Like Philarete, Nikon bore the title of *Grand Seigneur:* he took his meals with the Tsar, he was associated in the Government.

But there was another work then for him to do. As counterpart of the political reformation undertaken by Philarete, on Nikon fell the burden of reforming the Liturgy and morals. I have said that Christianity was natural to the Russians. Christianity, but not Christian perfection. Among these primitive people manners long remained coarse. Perhaps, too, the unbroken succession of troubles was the cause of a falling off in morals. In the seventeenth century shocking licentiousness infected every rank and age. In church the faithful would laugh, make indecent remarks, and even beat each other to death. The priests would bless for a fee illicit unions, trade in drink, come tipsy to their duties, and live more wretchedly than beggars. As for the Liturgy, it had been corrupted in a way which I shall explain when speaking of the schism which the Russians call Raskol. Nikon was obliged to try and purify the Liturgy and morals. He was the Reformer among the patriarchs.

How he came to grief you will know later

Church of the Nativity, Little Dmitrotka, Moscow.
17th Century.

Now, I can tell you that his intolerance estranged the indifferent: besides, he was haughty and quick-tempered. The boyards, who tried to gain the Tsar's favour, intrigued against him. In 1657 he had lost the confidence of Alexis. In 1658 he was no longer invited to certain official ceremonies, and his messengers were beaten with sticks. In July, one feast day, after officiating, he announced that he would no longer be patriarch, put off his pontifical vesture, and withdrew to the Monastery of the Resurrection, which he loved above all.

Perhaps he hoped that he would be recalled: but he was not. On the contrary, his absence emboldened his adversaries. At the end of eight years they won their point that a Council should judge him (1666). It is the same Council that we shall see engaged on the liturgical problem. Nikon was charged before it with abandoning his throne and with severity to his subordinates, he was declared to be deprived of his patriarchal dignity, and sent in the garb of a simple monk to a monastery on the White Sea. It was only when he had reached a great age that he was allowed to return to his beloved Monastery of the Resurrection. But he died on the journey. He was buried with patriarchal honours. The Eastern patriarchs restored him his rank. Alexis had asked pardon from him in his will.

Although Nikon's successors were kept in the background, all individual power gave offence to Peter the Great. Conseqnently when the Patriarch Adrian died, in 1700, he decided not to appoint a successor. In the interval between the patriarchate and the system he meant to have in its place he styled Stephen Iavorski "Guardian of the patriarchal throne." By the help of Féofane Proko-

povitch Peter worked out the scheme of the Holy Synod, a permanent Council which took the place of the patriarchate, and in which the Emperor was represented by a layman whom he chose himself, the High Procurator. This synodal institution was approved by a Russian Council in 1721, and by the Eastern Patriarchate in 1723. It is under this system that we are now living, waiting for reforms of which people speak much. I will explain it further on in some detail. Its establishment closes the history of the Russian Church.

This Church was always not so much united to, as mingled with, the State. This was fatal. The simplicity of the form of government did not allow of a complete distinction between the two hierarchies. However, accident helped necessity in the shape of the Tartar domination. By cutting Russia off from other countries for a long time it made its religion a national concern: for want of terms of comparison people never understood that one might cease to be orthodox without ceasing to be patriotic, and the term Russian has for a synonym *Pravoslavny*, i.e., true believer. This fusion of things temporal and spiritual seems to have stood in the way of the independence of the Church: at the beginning it is the vassal of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, at the end it is the slave of the Emperors of S. Petersburg, and when it had the appearance of being altogether independent, in the time of the patriarchate, it was undermined by political and religious revolutions. Her enemies did not think that any good could proceed from her.

However, there is an admirable tendency displayed to-day by orthodoxy. There are, in the crowded churches, above the mechanical movements of crossings and prostrations, glances towards the icons full of a faith which could not but be sincere, and prayers,

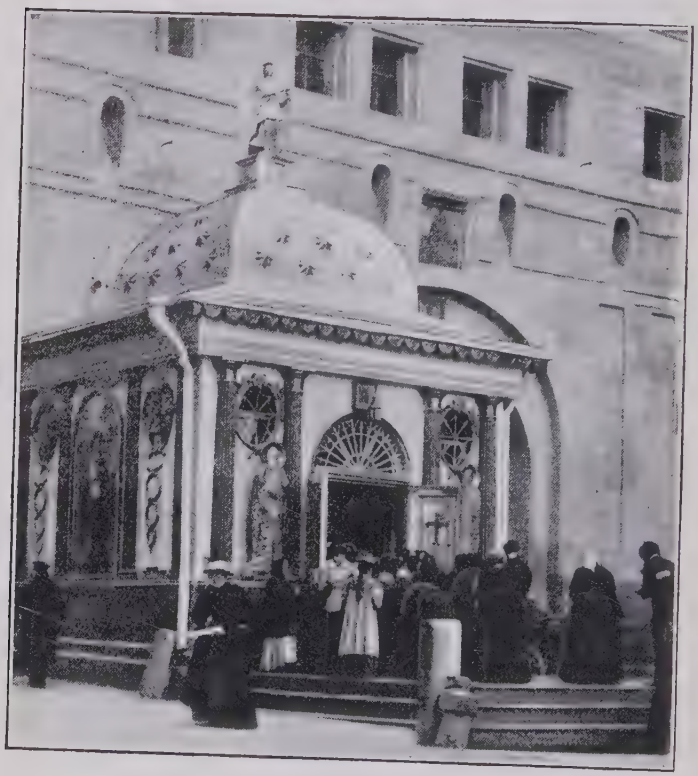
in words of the heart not written in the formularies, such as I have only heard in France at *Notre Dame des Victoires*, or at Lourdes. There is also the architecture of a church like that of the Saviour;

CATHEDRAL OF THE SAVIOUR, MOSCOW.

built in thanksgiving for the deliverance of 1812, it could not but be a very beautiful modern monument: however, I feel there a concentration of solemnity, a convergence of faith, a disdain of art which is the highest art, such as entirely surpass our basilica of *Sacré Cœur*, where in some corner a heathen prettiness offends us: and one is not astonished at it any

more when one has seen near at hand what rare souls these Russian painters have. There is, in the country, the blessing of the water on January 6 at the end of Mass: a hole in the shape of a cross is broken in the ice of a pond: always there are some peasants who throw themselves into the blest water, and to get warm again run and bury themselves behind their stoves. These are the same peasants who devote years to saving the cost of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, who betake themselves there for some roubles in horrible boats, who alone of all peoples have wept in crowds on Calvary when they had not died of fatigue between Jaffa and Jerusalem. Those who are not privileged to go so far come the less distance to Moscow to salute that Iberian Virgin to which the Tsar makes his first visit when he comes to the Kremlin. They come when it is getting dark, and pass the night under the cold stars on the pavements of the little chapel in order to be the first to go in when the doors are opened in the morning. I have counted a hundred of them when going in towards midnight. I had been to pass the night upon the Cathedral Square. The sentry was come there to say the evening prayer bareheaded, while drums were beating in the fields, before the curious who ceased to be curious. Then the square was emptied. Far off I caught glimpses of the lights of the other bank, of Raskol Moscow, which were put out one by one, and which I overlooked from the top of those memory-laden walls. The churches around me contained, thrown upon the pavement in the disorder of their humility, the tombs of patriarchs and Tsars. The bareness of their walls enhanced their majesty. Alone, under the stones of Uspensky Sabor, is painted the bust of a colossal Virgin, several metres across, of an antique design, a lamp burns before

it, the fresco lightens up the night. Is it the sanctity of this image, the influence of these tombs, the



THE SHRINE OF OUR LADY OF IBERIA.

freshness of this breeze, the purity of this air which has acquired the art of vibrating only to holy words, that makes one so marvellously well placed for dreaming on God's plans? Let me believe that some day you will come to rejoin me

there. For us to say all we have to say it would be necessary elsewhere to hush the voice. This square was the scene of popular councils. Come under the lamp which burns before the great Virgin of Uspensky Sabor.

LETTER IV

WORSHIP

In what religious forms has this history issued? And how does this Church, which you have still to know better, adapt itself to that society of which I have already spoken? To answer these two questions is the special object of this correspondence.

Here, then, I am obliged at once to give a description of Russian Christianity. Do not expect it to be exhaustive. It is enough, after admitting the foundation common to Orthodoxy and Catholicism, to indicate what separates them. The differences are in dogma, in worship, and in ecclesiastical organization. As we are outlining a system of sociology, it is clear that we shall have to lay stress above all on the ecclesiastical organization, which must in so many points be like the civil, and we shall be able almost to neglect the dogmas which are, candidly speaking, independent of social constitutions. I shall commence from them that I may not have to return to them: but pray be satisfied on this heading with a simple sketch without history or exegesis.

Three or four articles of belief separate the Orthodox from the Catholics.

1. The *Filioque*. The Creed sung in the Latin Mass says of the Holy Spirit "Who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*." The Greek and Russian

Creed is satisfied with the earlier form of statement, "Who proceedeth from the Father." The Eastern Church, which is usually called the Church of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, condemns every dogmatic decision made since the second Council of Nicæa. It also rejects the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which is, in its view, as arbitrary an innovation as the Filioque.

2. Indulgences, purgatory, grace. The Orthodox resent indulgences, do not calculate rigidly the state of the souls of the righteous after death, and their theologians are not in agreement with ours on some points in the treatment of grace.

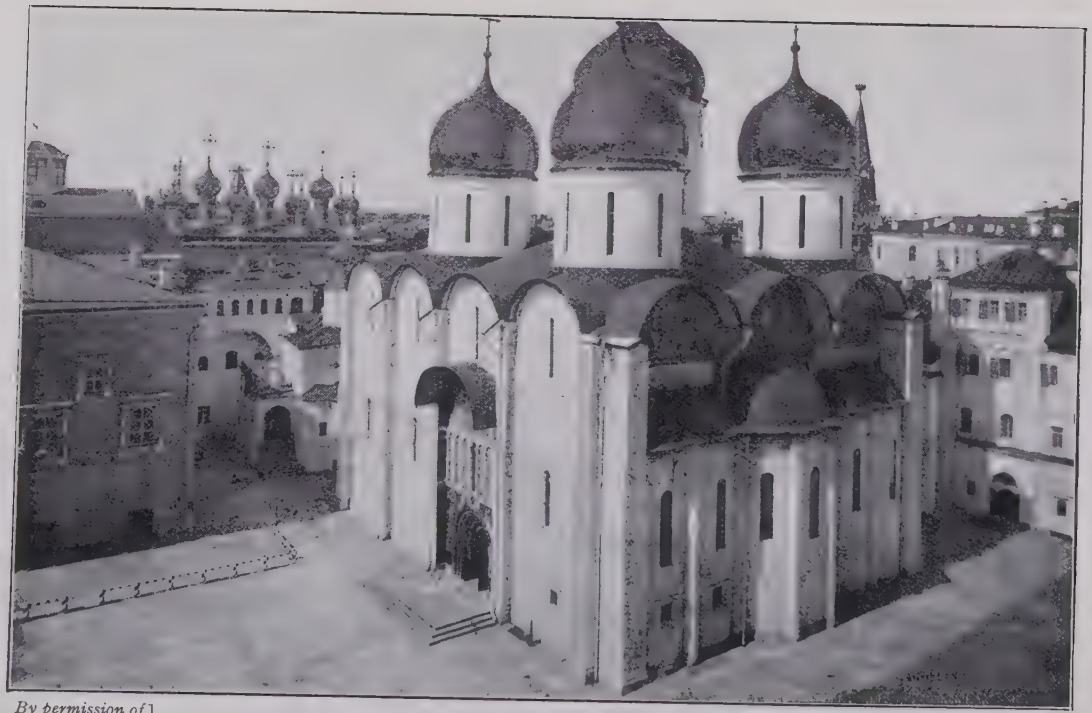
3. Papal Infallibility. The East recognizes no other head for Christians than Jesus Christ. But we are touching there on the question of the Church. We shall come back to it later.

This is all I have to tell you about the beliefs of the Russians. The parallelism between society and religion will appear much better in the study of worship and Church government. I shall describe them both in the clearest order for teaching. This plan will not strain analogies between the sacred and the profane. If they appear all the same it is because they are obvious, and you will not accuse me of special pleading. To-day we deal with worship.

Simple Description

I have already quoted incidentally to you many features of the open-air religion, e.g., that which is most astonishing to the Parisian arriving at Moscow, the innumerable crossings made by the driver who takes him through the streets full of churches.

Let us go inside the churches. A Russian



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EXTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION, MOSCOW.
(IN WHICH THE TSARS ARE CROWNED.)

Interior of the Cathedral of the Assumption, Moscow.

church contains a sanctuary and a nave, separated by an ambon. The laity are restricted to the nave, and to standing, for there are neither chairs nor benches. The priest can be seen on the ambon during the first part of the Mass, and during the second is hidden within the sanctuary. The sanctuary contains the altar, and as a rule a table called "prothesis," on which the priest gets ready the wine and bread he is to consecrate. It is closed by a partition adorned with pictures—the *iconostasis*; three gates open through it, the middle or royal gate is reserved to the priests and to deacons when carrying the gospels or chalice. The pictures are subject to certain rules: on either side of the royal gate you must have the Saviour and the Virgin: on the gate itself you always see the Annunciation and the Four Evangelists: lastly, the icons are of an ancient type which recalls Cimabue, or rather Cimabue's precursors. Nowhere are there any statues.

The village churches seem large because the *izbas* are so small. Those of Moscow, often encased in houses, are occasionally the size of a room. On the other hand, there is nothing so beautiful as a festival service in Uspensky Sabor, the Cathedral of the Assumption, and that one of the four great churches of the Kremlin in which the Coronation of the Tzar takes place.

The church is like a great cube supported by four large round pillars and surmounted by five domes. Walls, pillars, and domes are painted with stiff figures of saints on a gold ground. The floor is paved with iron plates. At the end an iconostasis of pure gold lifts to the roof five rows of celebrated icons. Golden banners hang in the corners. There is a chandelier of solid silver with an interesting history. Precious stones are set everywhere. A

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ICONOSTASIS, SOLOVIETSKI MONASTERY.

few narrow windows hardly light up the millions and millions of gems. Light is given by wax candles burning in hundreds before the icons, and their hot flames make the gilded bosses of the cupolas seem to undulate. You have the impression of being, not in a monument, but in a tabernacle. The bass voices singing without an organ are alone worthy of the mystery which is accomplished quite close, because the building is so small, far off, behind the memorials fastened to the sacred gates. When crying for mercy the people bend low towards the iron pavement, signing themselves with great signs of the Cross under the pressure of a Divine Presence. Not a single detail is a masterpiece of art, the dimensions are mean, the ornaments superabundant, but the whole is a matchless house of prayer. I know more beautiful churches. I hardly know any so appealing. So much for the casket.

The liturgical year is richer in Russia than in France. There are nearly as many feasts of obligation as Sundays. There is scrupulous observance of feasts of national saints, such as S. Alexander Nevsky, of special feasts of saints held in universal honour, such as the Beheading of S. John Baptist, and of the birthdays of the chief members of the Imperial Family. These are holidays, days of leisure and even of idleness, during which the harvest suffers, and which, after Mass, are often devoted to banquets. On the other hand, the days of penance are almost as numerous as the festivals. There are four Lents: a great Lent before Easter, four weeks before Christmas, fifteen days before the Assumption, and the same number before the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul. During these Lents the self-denial is terrible: meat, eggs, milk, butter are forbidden every day: you must be satisfied with fish and

vegetables. The people, who fast through poverty, comply rigidly with the regulations; the aristocracy, according to some French writers, has been dispensed from all mortification; this is an over-hasty generalization; I have often noticed the opposite, and my observance of no fasts but Friday has shocked more than one old man whose abstinence frightened the most pious doctors.

I come to the chief point, the Sacraments, or, as the Orthodox say, the Mysteries.

1. Baptism. The Russians baptize with threefold immersion, corresponding with the Apostles' method. They recognize the Latins' method of baptism by affusion as valid but not as lawful, valid because the early Church used it for sick people, unlawful because it used it for them only.

2. Confirmation is not a sacrament received when about twelve years of age at the hands of a bishop; it is given immediately after baptism by a mere priest, otherwise it is, as elsewhere, an anointing made with chrism blessed by a bishop. Such usages are nearer Apostolic custom than ours.

3. The Eucharist. First *Mass*. You will anticipate that with their respect for ancient ceremonies the Russians take no notice of services of recent institution such as our Benediction. All their devotion is concentrated on the Canonical Office. The Mass—called the Liturgy—is the centre of it. It is celebrated, traditionally, in the Greek rite. What adds to its grandeur is that there are never low Masses: everything is sung: the service thus lasts several hours. The Great Entrance, when the priest, having been to fetch the bread and wine for consecration, goes into the sanctuary by the royal doors, is of incomparable solemnity. The actual rite of consecration differs little in the two Churches. For the

details of the Liturgy I should refer you to the Russian Church of the Rue Daru, or the Greek Church of the Rue Bizet.

The act of *Communion* has some peculiarities. The laity do not receive, as the Latins do, unleavened bread, and they communicate in both kinds. They communicate with a golden spoon, in which the bread is soaked in the consecrated wine; that is what the Latins call "intinction." The difference between the East and West is that the Orientals attach much more value to it than do the Westerns; it seems to them that the Latin priests, in allowing two Eucharistic rites, one for the celebrant the other for the flock, assert their desire to keep the people in spiritual bondage—all the more as it is the blood rather than the flesh which communicates life. In Russia there is no "first Communion." Infants are communicated after baptism; only after the age of seven is confession required. Thus the Russians suppress that entry on the sacramental life which the Westerns wish to secure about twelve years of age, and at the same time do away with that careful moral and spiritual preparation which our first communion involves.

As for the frequency of communion, the Catechism, the great official Catechism, lays it down thus: — "The primitive Christians communicated each Sunday, but of the Christians of our day, few have enough purity of life to be always ready to approach so great a mystery. The Church with a motherly voice advises confession to a spiritual father and the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, for those who are desirous of a pious life, four times in the year or once a month, but for all, without exception, once a year."

Frequent communion is not, then, advised except in the West, where it is not rare to see Christians go every day to the Holy Table. As a fact the most zealous Orthodox approach it every other month. On the other hand, each of their

WOODEN REGIMENTAL CHURCH, HODINKA, MOSCOW.

communions is preceded by a kind of retreat: for some days they do not see their friends, they go frequently to church, they fast, they read in the only prayer book they have in use—the Gospel; it is a much more important event because it is more rare. In a village the devotions of the *barin* are announced by the bells.

On the contrary, the Easter Communion is more fashionable than in France; one has to be a complete infidel to miss it: the Paschal duty has entered so deeply into morals that the custom has been transformed into a law by requiring it of officials: there is not, however, any intolerance: from a Roman Catholic official the certificate of Roman Catholic confession is expected. As for the persons who are connected in some way with the Church, i.e., the inferior clergy and the priests' wives, they are "invited," but by a usage stronger than any obligation, to communicate at the four Lents. Priests communicate at each Mass, that is, in the country, once a week.

The Real Presence in the Tabernacle has no peculiar adoration. When the Liturgy is over the curtain is drawn which completely closes the sanctuary, and the nave becomes again an almost secular place where people go to talk over their business. Almost immediately the church is shut until the next service, only the cathedrals are left open. But then people only go there for the icons, which they kiss as they file by. God is only manifested to the community when it is again formally assembled. He does not speak in near friendship.

4. Penance. The Russians go to Confession with more prudence, and at the same time with more laxity, than the Latins. Confessions are heard in a lonely part of the church, before the icon of CHRIST, the penitent being upright before the priest, who also stands, wearing a stole. The questions are soon over, very little direction follows them, and the priest says the words of Absolution while holding his stole to the penitent's forehead. The indefiniteness of confession is caused by its

infrequency. The rarer the avowal the less trustworthy is the memory. The Russian only sees advantages in this. It seems to him more suitable to disregard the casuists, and the long lists in helps to examination of conscience, and the whispering of details behind the gratings of our confessionals.

He even goes to "General" Confession: peasants or soldiers are brought together in this way: the priest reads them a list of sins: they simply answer, "Yes, I am a sinner." The celebrated Father John of Cronstadt did this, but in his case it was due less to the desire of getting done soon than from a wish to deepen emotion by arousing it in a large assemblage. The first questions only receive a few timid avowals; this contrition is contagious; one person encourages another; the simple gestures become cries, and the self-examination comes to an end with tears of enthusiasm.

FATHER JOHN OF CRONSTADT.

On the other hand, some confessors ask very precise questions, and require specific repentance for

each fault, such are some chaplains of convents, and some village priests who, when they go to shrive the *seigneurs* at their own houses, have time to examine them closely. Yet it must be said that direction of conscience only exists, as a rule, in the Latin Church.

The Russians keep up their penance after their Absolution. But satisfaction is never with them an integral part of the Sacrament. What the Catechism requires of the penitent is, before all else, "contrition of his sins, the purpose of self-amendment, faith in CHRIST, and hope in His mercy"; then "fasting and prayer"; and, only as a last assistance "desire (epithymie)," which may be anything from a devotional exercise to seclusion in a monastery; but it is never meant to "satisfy" God's justice, still less does it reckon for "merit" to the sinner; it is only a moral stimulus.

5. Unction of the Sick. The anointing of the sick is not, as most frequently with us, "extreme unction"; it is not kept for sickness which is past cure, but is used in illness which is simply dangerous; thus it is not the viaticum of the dying, but an aid to recovery.

6. Orders. The difference between the two Churches is in regard to the Minor Orders. In the West one goes by a kind of preparation through the Minor Orders to the priesthood: in Russia the Minor Orders are, as a rule, permanent states; thus the deacon is indispensable, or all but so, to the Liturgy; there is, except when it is impossible, a deacon in every parish.

7. Marriage. We have seen that marriage is more the concern of the Church than of the State. The Russian dislikes contracts, and his wife always remains mistress of her own property. There is thus

no need for registers of the civil status in addition to those of the parish. There is free permission for divorce. With the rest of the Greek Church, whose tradition rests on a passage of S. Matthew (v. 32), it allows the innocent party, when adultery has been committed, to break the marriage vows and make a fresh alliance, but not the guilty. Even before the Ukase of October 17, 1905, mixed marriages were allowed if the children were brought up in Orthodoxy. Formerly engaged couples were required to make their Easter Communion, if not they had to communicate at once. Not only a certificate of Confession is required, but the priest can refuse the Sacrament to a notorious evil liver, and this new regulation has greatly increased his influence.

Short as these notes have been you have observed three points in passing:—

1. Meagre encouragement to effort. There is no Confirmation to be, as in France, a kind of adult Baptism.

2. Indefiniteness in usages and technical terms, e.g., practice of Confession and the meaning of its accompanying "penitence."

3. Conservatism. Keeping up old ceremonies in Baptism and the Eucharist.

Perhaps in these traits you already suspect the Oriental, if not the Slav character. Three times it will have left its mark on the worship. In three sections we shall thoroughly investigate the problem.

Orthodox Worship and Russian Life

1. Want of Life. The general inactivity in Russia naturally stifles there the sacramental life. Compare the Russian and French temperaments,

and tell me if you do not find them contrasted as follows:—

(*a*) In Russia there is no first Communion, in France a first Communion has several months' preparation.

(*b*) In Russia there is no Confirmation except at the moment of Baptism: in France there is a Confirmation which gives force to the period of the first Communion.

(*c*) In Russia Communions are rare; in France they are frequent, and merely stages in an inner life which is skilfully graded.

Lastly, in the West there are institutions all but unknown elsewhere:—retreats for the laity, societies like "The Sons of S. Francois de Sales," third orders, of which the rule consists primarily in efforts of will and in self-examination at least once a day, in regard to a further virtue each month, so that in a few years one traverses a cycle suitable to each temperament.

One might almost say that in the East man is for the service of God, in the West God is for the service of man; in the East the Sacrament is a reward, in the West it is a means; the Oriental's religion lies in fasts, the Western's in good works; the Western thinks it lazy to expect grace from the contemplative languor of magnificent ceremonials, the Russian sees irreverence in this piety of men of the world, these Masses at express speed, this "struggle for heaven." The Eastern is descended from Job, who resigned himself on the dunghill; the Western from Jacob, who wrestled with the angel.

2. Want of precision. In thought as in life the Russian nature, like all other Oriental natures, is vague and rich. It does not belie itself in the conduct of worship. Thus the Russian admits

no distinction between mortal and venial sins. At the same time, for a priest to be declared unfit for the ministry would cause any Sacrament he might try to minister to be regarded as of no effect; yet when pardoned by authority he recovers his powers without needing to be ordained again. The Latin would find in this situation a contradiction which he avoids himself by the distinction for priests under suspension between the valid Mass and the permitted Mass. But the clearest illustrations are drawn from the Eucharist. Let me speak of it with respect: I assure you that I shall do so much less as a historian than as a believer.

First of all, the Russian does not define the Mystery of the Consecration of the Bread and Wine. The Catechism says: *Q.* What is the chief operation in this part of the Liturgy? *A.* The priest pronounces the words spoken by JESUS CHRIST at the Institution of the Mystery—"Take, eat, THIS IS MY BODY; drink ye all of it, THIS IS MY BLOOD, the Blood of the New Testament" (*S. Matt.* xxvi. 26–28), and afterwards he invokes the Holy Spirit and he blesses the gifts, that is to say, the Bread and Wine brought to him. *Q.* Why is that important? *A.* Because by this action the Bread and Wine are changed (or "pressouchchestvliaioutcia") into the real Body and the real Blood of Christ. *Q.* How do you explain the word "Pressouchchestvlenie"? *A.* In the Eastern Patriarchs' exposition of the Faith it is said that the word "Pressouchchestvlenie" does not explain the way in which the Bread and Wine are changed into the Lord's Body and Blood, because that can be understood by no one but God, but it only shows that the Bread becomes the real Body, and the Wine the real Blood of the Lord, truly, actually, and substantially.

To the same effect John Damascene wrote on the Lord's Holy and Pure Mysteries (iv. 13, 7): "It is truly the Body which, united to the Godhead, was born of the Holy Virgin, not because that Body having ascended into heaven descends thence, but because the bread and wine themselves are changed into the Body and the Blood of God. But if you inquire how that is done be satisfied to know that it is by the Holy Spirit, in the same way as by the Holy Spirit from the Mother of God the Lord was made flesh of her substance and in her womb: but I know nothing more than that except that the Word of God is true, efficacious and all-powerful, but its manner of working is incomprehensible."

I have translated the words *istinno*, *diéistvitielno*, and *souchchetvenno*, by *truly*, *actually*, and *substantially*, but one must not give the words *truly*, *actually*, and *substantially* the precise meaning they would have in scholastic philosophy. Care, too, must be taken about rendering "pressouchchestvlenie" by "transubstantiation."

In a discussion, in 1867, between the Metropolitan Philaret and Dr. Young, the metropolitan very strongly asserted that "pressouchchestvlenie" was the exact equivalent of the Greek μετουσίωσις, but not of the Latin "transsubstantiatio," and that an Englishman who had translated it by "transsubstantiation" had given a misleading version. As a fact, "transsubstantiatio" *is* identical with μετουσίωσις; but to the μετουσίωσις of the Greek the scholastics have added a theory which is peculiar to them, and it is against this that the Russians protest by rejecting the word "transsubstantiatio."

No more than for the method, does the Russian concern himself for the moment, of the consecration: whether it takes place when the priest repeats our

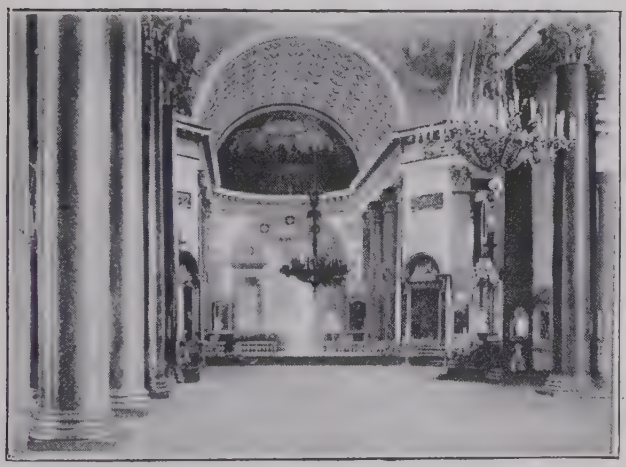
Saviour's words or when he has finished the Epiklesis, are questions which he says he leaves to the Latins. Yet it astounds him for any one to find hindrances or helps on this point in comparisons or words, for any one to need, in order to believe, bleeding hosts and the miracle of S. Louis, for any one to waste on metaphysics the time given for worship, for any one to turn the miracle of divine love into a prodigy of chemical atomism.

Vagueness in doctrine harmonizes with vagueness in practice. The faithful bring for the offertory loaves of a particular shape—*prosphora*—from out of which the priest cuts particles which he sets on one side for consecration: the rest of the loaf is then given back to the person who brought it. This bread has not even received a blessing, yet it is taken and eaten with as much honour as the "pain béni" of the West. This honour is extended to all kinds of bread, for, in memory of the Lord's Supper, no Russian ever throws bread to dogs. That is not all. In the middle of the Mass little children are led towards the iconostasis, and the priest blesses them with the chalice containing species as yet unconsecrated: a quasi consecration is read into the mere purpose of consecrating it presently. Lastly, the grace of the Sacrament is no longer localized in him who receives it. When parents deem themselves unworthy they make their child communicate in their stead: the mother leads him to the altar; when they have returned to their place she puts him in his father's arms: the father embraces him with a tenderness and respect which transfigures his countenance, for to kiss his child thus is practically a kind of communion.

These traits are fundamentally Russian, because one finds them in all the Russian devotions. If

CATHEDRAL OF OUR LADY OF KAZAN, S. PETERSBURG.

the Latins carry their love for the Saviour into detail by paying special worship to His Sacred Heart or Five Wounds, the Russians blame them for "dissecting" His Body, and there would have been no need in Russia as there was in France for Episcopal authority to check the worship of the Holy Shoulder. There is the same contrast in regard to relics: the Frenchman is attached to a rag of stuff or a morsel



INTERIOR OF CATHEDRAL OF OUR LADY OF KAZAN, S. PETERSBURG.

of bone: the Russian prefers the hermitage, which explains the acts of the saint, and his tomb though empty: the first is contented with a dried-up authenticity: the other satisfies himself with stimulating surroundings. The question of icons is of a similar kind. It is often said that the *moujik* has superstition for icons: he might reply that the French bourgeois has superstitution for statues, and perhaps he would have reason, if by superstition is meant

attachment to an object. The Russian peasant is probably of all, in Europe, the one who has least faith in charms. Consider that he forms part of that East in which Iconoclasts arose, and that the Second Council of Nicæa, which allowed pictures and mosaics, said no word about statues. To-day the icons preserve the canonical outlines of the primitive models, and the Christs are painted on the wood of the crosses: resemblance and relief-work would be materialistic injuries. The man of the town venerates, as individualities only, the celebrated icons—the Virgins of Kazan, of Smolensk, of Vladimir: the dweller in the country, not knowing their history, likes better still the appearance of a crowded iconostasis: he does not ask for the cathedrals to be the shrine of some miraculous memorial, but for inspiring gold-work and sanctifying atmosphere. Thus when the question at issue between Latin and Russian is concerned with a sacrament, a tomb, or an icon, there is a difference between analytic and synthetic piety.

I am not, for a moment, going to compare their worth. All the more I must insist on their irreducible contrast. The necessities of life have forced on the Latin the division of labour and the abstraction of ideas; he has a punch in the hand and a sketch in the eye; he defines and catalogues the divine as he defines and catalogues himself; it is a physiological necessity. The Russian is the exact opposite, and from a physiological necessity also. In the confusions of his indolent life, his eye has not been reduced to become a telescope lens with network dividing the field of view into equal squares, it has remained a soul; it does not register, it creates. In the candlesticks with two and three branches which the bishop uses in blessing, he sees, actually, the two Natures and

the three Persons, all the Gospel and all the Fathers, a world. Thanks to his ease in concentrating his whole being on the particular action, the sign of the cross, instead of being a social gesture which has no meaning except for the witnesses, is almost an hypnotic gesture which transports him who makes it into the religious universe.

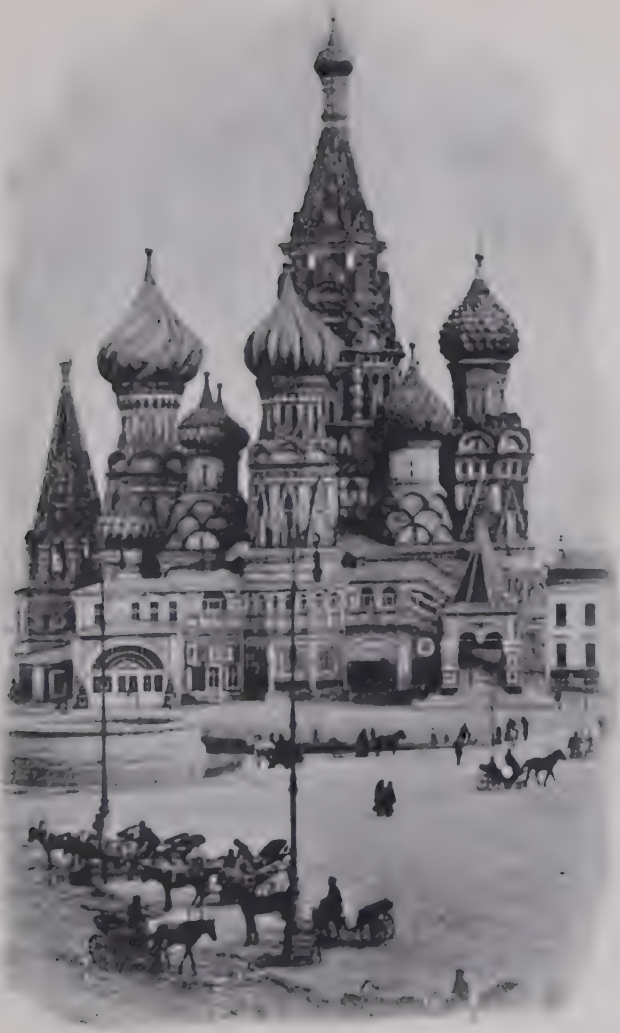
BISHOP WITH CANDLESTICKS.

That is why the Latins and Russians cannot change their attitudes. Forbid the Latin the curiosity which the Russian finds indiscreet, and as he cannot localize the divine Presence and date the act of Its arrival, he will not see more in the renewed Supper than a representation of the historical Supper, and warded off from "Roman rationalism" will fall into "Protestant symbolism." To balance matters, accustom the Russian to definitions of which the Latin cannot have enough, and you will only arrive at making him doubt a truth which he can only grasp with his heart. The Latin has such a horror of human mysteries that he is obliged to penetrate into the mysteries of God as far as reason can take him; the Russian is so at ease in mysteries of every kind that to explain them makes them less real to him.

3. Stability. Naturally, again, the Orthodox hold to ancient customs. To the Latin rites—Baptism by affusion, delayed Confirmation, Communion with-

held till twelve years of age, given in one kind only, and with unleavened bread, he opposes rites which he asserts to be primitive. More ancient, without doubt; primitive, not in all cases. If unleavened bread is not apostolic, intinction is not either. In the East one finds no certain trace of it during the first nine centuries. It existed, however, before the eleventh century, for Cardinal Humbert, who died in 1061, in his *Adversus Græcorum calumnias* reproaches the Greeks with communicating as Judas did. Introduced about the tenth century, probably to prevent the involuntary profanation for which the hosts of the West are a still better remedy, intinction may be a very venerable custom, but no one could make an obligatory rule of it without doing violence to tradition.

Therein appears one of the features of the conservative spirit. The conservative in religion, in politics, in science, is the person who disregards the history of origins and has not round him the example of evolution. These two conditions are necessary. For if he knows the uncertainties, the anguish, the enthusiasms, and the hurry of the early stages, he will not wish to stereotype in mechanism that which grew at first as an organism, but yet he must have acquired from the example of the present the experience of similar developments, if he is to interpret without blunders the acts of the old witnesses. The conservative is not, then, the person who mounts up to the source but he who starts from the present, he does not care about the original but rests himself on the definitive, he is the man not of the first but of the middle age. Thus, the Orthodox have everything to make them conservatives of this sort. Russia did not exist when Christianity was established in the East, and has changed but little since



CATHEDRAL OF S. BASIL, MOSCOW.

knowing it. Naturally the Russians will reverence, as a custom of the first days, a custom which they have not seen growing.

What we have just said about intinction applies to the whole development of worship. In Russian phrase, Latin worship has grown up either by concessions yielded—statues and scapulars are borrowed from Paganism: or by arbitrary addition—there is nothing to justify rosaries or novenas. This opinion, again, is the product of the history of Russia. Russian worship could not be developed by concessions, because, when Byzantium brought Christianity to Kiev, it had not to combat an established worship, as the ancient Slavs had neither temples or priests. Russian worship could not be developed by additions because the social constitution has kept up such Christian manners that primitive customs have always been enough to preserve piety.

Compare it with the West. When Christianity arrived in Roman society, the latter was already too strongly established for any one to dream of substituting for it an evangelical society. To become like the lilies of the field and fowls of the air, people would have had to fly to the desert and abandon the duty of preaching to all nations. One could only deal with the age, leaving the guidance of it till later. Brunetière, in *Along the High Roads of the Faith*, gives a magnificent explanation of how the Church was by turns yielding and unyielding to accomplish the abolition of slavery, preaching to the slaves submission to the established order while it obliged itself to persuade the masters that it was shameful, criminal, and anti-Christian, for some children of God to own other children of God as mere chattels. That is why we

must never say that Christianity is soiled with Paganism. In modern times the State has been so deeply atheistic that for the salvation of the faithful the Church has been obliged to increase the outward respect for the Sacraments, to multiply communions, to extend the direction of conscience, in a word, to assure to each person, in the refuge made by the Church, a second life in which he receives an over-heating of spirituality. That is why one must not say the Church has arbitrarily invented practices. In the first case, piety is less high-spirited but more effective; in the second, it is less fashionable, but more personal. In its essence it is neither corrupted nor enlarged. For the Russians to comprehend an apparent fixity in change, they must recognize that both are necessary. For that matter, all they have lacked is struggle.

Inertia, indefiniteness, stability are, to sum up, traits common in Russia, both to ordinary and religious life. Must one repeat that they are not isolated traits? In the West more active existence has necessitated division of labour which in its turn has allowed of progress. Life is active, then piety is active. Division of work leads to the spirit of analysis, to worship which is analytical. Evolution is general, and therefore carries with it the development of worship. On the contrary, for want of work which is intense, differentiated and progressive, Russian piety is at once careless, vague, and stationary. All these qualities are connected, and we can state their connection in this sentence, "Between Russian and Latin worship the difference is not only religious but racial."

LETTER V

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

THIS chapter is even more important than the last for understanding the influence of society upon religion. We shall trace it thus:—(i) A statement of the way in which the Church is organized; (ii) a statement of what the Church teaches about itself: (iii) a sociological interpretation of the two foregoing; and (iv), in further illustration of all that has been already said, some pages to show how the Orthodox restrict to the sphere of the Church that which Protestants consider to be determined by the individual conscience, viz., the question of the Faith.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

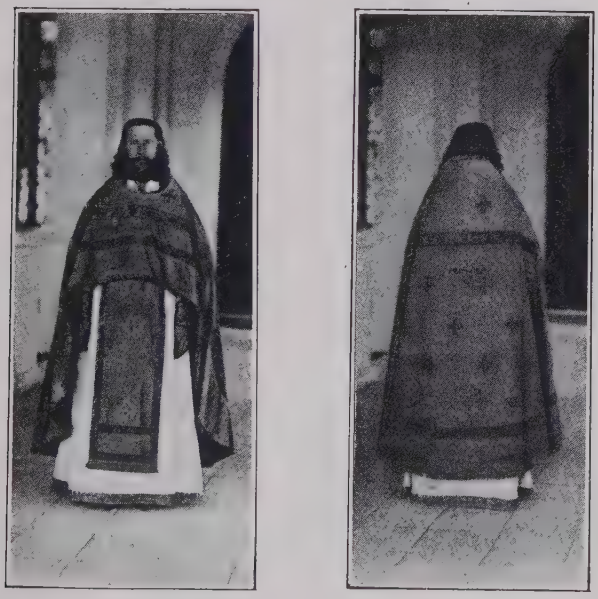
For this section we must treat first of the parishes, then of the bishops, lastly of the Holy Synod, and, as a separate subject, of monasticism.

(*a*) The Parish.

(i) In the country. You see going by a man with uncut beard and long hair, dressed in a long robe of brown or grey, and wearing on his breast a cross; his simple bearing reminds you somewhat of our country curés: it is the curé of a Russian village, the *svachchénik*.

Chosen formerly from amongst the peasants, without any other preparation than soundness of mind

and morality, he goes forth to-day from one of the seminaries established in each diocese, and must be married before Ordination, as no celibate is admitted to the cure of souls. The married priests form "the white clergy," as contrasted with the monks, who are "the black clergy," and whose name comes, it is



PRIEST VESTED FOR LITURGY.

said, from the black veil which they wear behind their headgear—it matters little what the reason for it may be.

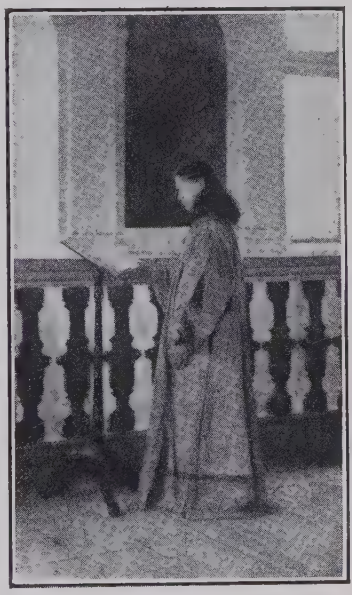
The curé of a village is not much engaged on his ministry. He says Mass on Sundays, but never in the week, because it is only on Sundays that the people come, and he officiates on their behalf, not on

his own. He has no breviary to say each day, only when he says Mass he has to preface it by the entire series of "hours." He has no sense of obligation to visit the sick or careless, he goes to see his parishioners when his feelings prompt him, the spontaneity of the Russian would be stifled by friendship shown as a duty. There is no frequent confession to make links between the director and penitent. There is no catechism of the first communion obliging him to watch his children with individual care. There remains the parish catechism. If the village school is one maintained by the *Zemstvos*, the priest is allowed in it to teach the Catechism; if, on the contrary, it is a parish school, the curé has complete control over it. In either case the school is generally a very small *izba*, which looks more like a shed than a house, and where only the most elementary instruction it given. The religious teaching accords with the secular. Consequent on all this the curé has time to till his land.

He needs it to make a living for his family. For some time past, it is true, a few priests have been receiving a salary, but it is a very meagre one, and all do not get it. The land is a poor resource when there are no kind neighbours to help in its cultivation. One must add "surplice fees," which are almost a curse. At baptisms, weddings, burials, confessions, the parishioners give their pastor a few copecks. Foreigners see simony in this: but their only ground is the doubtful stories of Joseph de Maistre and Père Gagarine; if the *moujiks* complain at times of buying the Sacraments, it is because revolutionaries have just put that idea into their heads; but they very soon recover their proper feeling that every man has a right to live, and one must fain believe the *moujiks* are right, as

they are the chief persons concerned to assert the opposite.

As an additional bond of the priest to his country, his charge has become by usage in many cases hereditary. For choice he leaves it to his son-in-law. His house, if not his land, being his personal property, is naturally assigned as the dowry of one of his daughters. Thus he becomes rooted amongst the peasants; known by them, he knows them. He loses in authority to gain in influence. You have there a conception of sacerdotal dignity entirely opposed to that held in the West.



A READER.

It does not, however, keep the priest out of the castle. Certainly the personality of the *seigneur* did in old times overwhelm all those who lived near him. As a matter of fact the *barin* respects his *svachchénik*, perhaps gives him less honour than a French gentleman would pay his curè; at least he does not always allow a stranger to give him the disrespectful title of "pope"; he gives himself the pleasure of receiving the *svachchénik* at tea, sometimes he invites him to dinner, and, however high his rank may be, accepts in return dinner

with the priest, who is too modest not to be frightfully embarrassed.

In spite of all, the priest is a solitary creature, because he is part of a caste. In the days of serfdom nothing was more natural; the noble never entered the ranks of the clergy because he was superior to everybody; the peasant was not made a priest; the peasants' daughters never married priests because their *seigneurs* wanted their arms for that tillage of his fields from which the priests were exempt. Consequently the children of priests married each other, which was enough to make an absolutely closed caste. When serfdom was abolished (1865) the caste was thrown open, but very few have passed within the gate. Other reasons prevented it. First, a young seminarist, intended to succeed an old curè, would of his own accord marry the daughter, who would still have the living for her dower. As for the future priest, he must perform ceremonies sufficiently involved for him to have to learn them by the hearth, and thus has need of being the son of a priest. Lastly, the seminaries, where the sons of priests are trained, from that circumstance acquire a special atmosphere, which in its turn impregnates the students, and to go out of the caste is to become an anarchist, which explains in passing why there are so many "popovichs" among the revolutionaries. Originating in serfdom, the priestly caste survived serfdom, and the country priest is often in a sad dilemma between the humdrum of village concerns and the modern aspirations of his own studies. What is he to do? The impression, taken altogether, is that religion in the country shares the general nonchalance of the black land.

(ii) In the town. With the country villages I shall contrast Moscow. A parish in Moscow has

from one to two thousand people—nothing to be compared with the fifty thousand souls of a parish in Paris. At the head of the parish are generally found two priests, not to mention the deacon. "At the head" has not quite the meaning to which you are accustomed. The property of the parish, which has the right of ownership, is administered by a lay council, without whose approval the priests cannot spend a rouble. The two priests are not, as in France, one *curé* and the other *vicaire*, they are equal in standing, and only when face to face with the Government or the bishop does one become the senior, the *starost*. One or other of them has to officiate on Sundays or festivals. In the week they only say Mass if they expect a congregation: according to the district, there are two or three Masses a week; only in the large churches do you find the Liturgy each day; but then, even on the principal feast days there is only one Liturgy a day—it is still the principle of the priest being at the service of the community.

DEACON VESTED FOR LITURGY.

Half a century ago the priests never preached: now they preach nearly every week; they are even bound to preach a sermon each year in one of the cathedrals; this sermon, written and submitted to

the metropolitan, is as good as an examination; eloquence has naturally been developed by it, and eloquence with the Russians takes the place of authority, so that one dreams of the incalculable power of these rare pulpit orators.

The rest of his time the priest is, according to his zeal, employed in ways too numerous for me to attempt to catalogue. It will do more good for me to translate, amongst other documents, a few lines of a recent annual report of the proceedings of a small parish. After recording the enlargement of the church, the writer proceeds: "Some members of the committee contemplate forming a choir of amateurs, with a view to attracting larger congregations to the church. All the children of the parish of an age to receive instruction have been taught in the parish or town schools. The committee has taken pains that not one should remain without instruction, and has extended its care for the children to their after-school occupations. A member of the committee is always to be found at their side in church during the services. At Christmas the children had a tree, given by M^r. A. The other expenses of this entertainment were met by the gifts of Mess^rs. B. and others. All the other members of the committee took part in the work of making the arrangements. We must also record the formation of a parish library as a potent engine of education. A start was made by an anonymous gift for this purpose of seventy-five roubles. In the autumn of 1904 the library already contained 108 volumes for this sum. Many books and pamphlets were given to the library by different people. The bindings were provided by M^r. C. . . . The committee has been constrained to lay on its members the task of visiting the poor in their own homes in order to ascertain at first hand their neces-

An Easter Feast in a School at S. Petersburg.

sities." A detailed list follows. Might not any one fancy he was listening to the report of one of our best-worked parishes?

One must, however, admit that this activity is rare. As a rule the curé does very little for his flock. The only official occasion that he has for coming in touch with them is the blessing of their houses each year, during the days over which the parish festival is spread. He must go to recite appropriate prayers in each separate room: the door is always at this time open to him. The time, it is true, is so limited that he can hardly hold out against the physical weariness of these ceremonies, repeated without cessation; all the same a true priest looks beyond that; those I have seen never complain of it.

The other points of contact are even fewer than in the country. There is no association such as the "Children of Mary" to group round the Church the specially devout; the society which has the honour of carrying in the processions the coarse banners I have mentioned is a congregation of the town. Parochial registration of Confession and Communion has fallen into abeyance; between the faithful and the centre of the parish there is here again a bond which grows more lax. The Easter duties may be performed in any church you like: this is another cause of laxity. Outside these observances people go to the Liturgy wherever they like, as the sermons and singing attract them. The largest churches with famous choirs, such as the Church of the Saviour, the largest, indeed the only large, church in Moscow, are filled to overflowing on feast days. This coming and going involves the utter destruction of parochial boundaries.

With such customs as these it is impossible for the priest in Moscow to be "head" of the parish in the

Latin sense of the word; we shall see that he is, by way of compensation, something else: meanwhile it is to be noted that the parish, regarded as a corporate body, has even less existence in Moscow than in the country.

BISHOP VESTED FOR LITURGY.

(*b*) The Diocese or Eparchy.

An apparent inconsistency comes to light in the diocese. The importance and brilliancy of many of the bishops is not the cause of it: to prove it would be to do them an injury: I only discuss the circumstances. Now the bishop knows nothing of a large number of his parishes. There are not more than sixty dioceses in the whole Empire, Europe and Asia; as a rule the area of the diocese coincides with that of a Government, some are much larger than the whole of France, the badness of the roads makes them even more inaccessible.

One of the reasons for French bishops moving about is Confirmation; it is a feature of their yearly or half-yearly tours; in Russia there are no regular visitations, because there is no requirement of them by Confirmation. If the bishop travels but little his clergy can go to him. In France retreats for the clergy bring the

parish priests, for a few days of meditation, round their chief shepherd. Such retreats are unknown in Russia. The country clergy only make their confessions once a year. In each deanery they choose one of their number to be their director; he, at fixed times, goes round hearing confessions; hence there is great freedom for each priest.

Further, the bishop has but a poor knowledge of his priests because he is not one of themselves. We must recall his antecedents. The general body of priests are now trained in one or other of the Diocesan seminaries. The pick of the students on leaving the seminary go to the academy. The academies are the higher schools of theology. There are only four of them in the neighbourhood respectively of S. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Kazan. On leaving the academy the future bishop, instead of getting married, takes vows of celibacy. These vows are of the most rigid kind, for if marriage is required from one who is going to be a parish priest before Ordination, it is, on the contrary, forbidden to every priest already ordained. Thus these priests enter into the black clergy. The monks are part of this clergy, and accordingly it is often said that the bishops are chosen from among the monks. This is not accurate. All the ex-student of the seminary has in common with the monk is celibacy, and a more extreme asceticism. Almost immediately he is appointed to a professorship, and later to be rector of the seminary or academy, and only lives in the monastery inasmuch as the academy is established there. At the age of marriage he enters into a different caste from that of the average priest; by his education he belongs to a different class from most of the monks. He is doubly isolated. The unity of the diocese suffers.

Lastly, the bishop is surrounded by the Consistory, an administrative and judicial council made up of

CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION, S. PETERSBURG.

priests and laymen; one of the most influential members of it is the secretary, a layman directly appointed by another layman, the High Procurator

of the Holy Synod. The Consistory is like a synod on a small scale. It seems to the adversaries of *tchinovnism* to be enough in itself to accomplish the destruction of diocesan life.

(*c*) The Holy Synod.

The Holy Synod is at the head of the Church. It contains some permanent, some temporary, members; some representatives of the Episcopate, some representatives of the white clergy, some laymen. It is a kind of permanent council in which the hierarchy is mingled. It was instituted by Peter the Great, after the death of the last patriarch. The "Ecclesiastical Settlement" gives the details of its organization. It begins by laying down the principle of a Church governed by an assembly. "The power of monarchs is autocratic, and God Himself ordains for them to be obeyed as a matter of conscience, and yet they have their councillors not only the better to discover the truth, but also to prevent the disaffected from slandering them by saying that the monarch gives such and such a command by force, and as a matter of caprice instead of justice and truth. But if this is the case with him, on how much stronger grounds will these councillors be necessary in the administration of the Church, of which the Government is not monarchical, and where the prelates are (in Holy Writ) enjoined 'not to lord it' over their clergy? For if in the Church the laws proceeded from one only person, those opposed to them would only have, in order to deprive them of all force, to bring a single person into disrepute, but that possibility could not even arise when a decision proceeds from the votes of a council." (*Règlement*, Part I, Tondini's translation.) This passage certainly makes it seem that the will

of the Tsar unites the Church, and even subjects it to the State. The memory of the Patriarch Nikon's bold ventures is responsible for the following:— "Another point of great importance is that, with this councillor Government, the Fatherland need have no fear of the rebellions and turmoil engendered by the personal rule of a single ecclesiastic. As a matter of fact, the common people cannot distinguish between the ecclesiastical power and that of the autocrat; but, dazzled by the high dignity and pomp of the chief shepherd, imagines that this administrator is a second sovereign, equal in power to the autocrat, or even superior to him; and that the ecclesiastical order exists within the State as another and a better State." (*Règlement*, Part I.)

To assure his authority over the Synod, Peter the Great created in it the office of High Procurator. In the form of a supplement to the "Ecclesiastical Regulations" an "Instruction to the Supreme Procurator of the Most High Synod" contains such significant statements as, "The Procurator is expected to watch carefully and strictly over the Synod, with a view to its discharging its duties in accordance with what is just, and without respect of persons"; and, "The Procurator is not subject to the judgment of any one, be he who he may, except ourselves"; and, "Since the Supreme Procurator is by his office intended to be our eye and advocate in matters of State, he must conduct himself with fidelity, for it is against him that proceedings will always be taken first."

Through the Procurator of the Holy Synod the imperial authority seems to proceed downwards upon the secretaries of the Consistories, and through them to bear heavily on the inferior

diocesan officials. The unity which was wanting to the Church would be restored for the profit of the bureaucracy. Rome itself has never attempted such centralization. There are the appearances. Do you credit them? I pray you, leave to the crowd the responsibility of assent.

Some individuals out of the crowd will seek, perhaps, their salvation in the religious orders which they think must escape the official Church, as the monks in France escape the hierarchy of the concordat. Let us see.

(*d*) Monasticism in Russia.

Some convents are famous. Near Moscow, the Lavra of the Troitza, the Lavra founded by S. Sergius, the Lavra with fourteen churches, the Lavra-fortress sustained a siege of a year's length from the Poles, and by that possibly saved the Empire. In spite of the distinction of these memories the monks are not of much account in Russia.

In the first place they are not numerous, about 10,000 men, less than 20,000 women, that is one-tenth as many in proportion to the population as in France.

They do not enlist new members from the *élite* of society: it is an exception that there should be this son of an *émigré*, whose French name is so unfamiliar at Troitza. Russian nobles are also very rarely found among them: the majority of the monks are sons of priests, of peasants, of soldiers, in some cases, of shopkeepers. Further, the convents are poor; it is only their icons that are rich; I go so far as to say that if the projects of certain revolutionaries for the confiscation of the property of landowners and monasteries with a view to each Russian receiving an equal share

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THE TROITZA MONASTERY.

of the soil, were to be carried out, the monks would be the chief gainers by the division.

The religious of Russia are, without exception, contemplative. It is true I read in the diary of the tour of Abbé Morel, written in 1905, a note upon the Monastery of Varlaam, a well-known abbey situated on an island in Lake Ladoga: "The conversation of my guide—he was a novice of the convent—has interested me greatly. He is a serious youth who ought to have a definite course of teaching, and who further seems to have given serious thought to the monastic life. He is inspired with the necessity for mental prayer. He is exercised to know how to divide the time between contemplation and action. Perpetual contemplation is impossible. Then, in action, one has to distinguish between different kinds of occupation. Some of them are so monotonous as not to require any spiritual effort, such are those which the Fathers of the desert (the Hermits) chose, the weaving of mats and baskets. Such, also, as Vassili I. remarked, at the time of our visit to the stone cutters, is the work—so tedious—of polishing granite. Other manual employments require much attention, and do not permit of one devoting oneself at the same time to prayer. One would have to give fewer hours to works of this second class. Then there is the problem of deciding whether the monk ought to work for payment or to devote himself to public charity, in each direction Vassili saw difficulties. A conversation of this sort has edified me because it proves that the monks of Varlaam—at any rate, some of them—have serious thoughts in their minds."

But I fear there are not many like Vassili. The monks do not like husbandry, they do little study, they preach no missions. Rigorous fasts and long

offices make up their ideal of asceticism. They have none of the restless activity of the French monks. Their highest type would be like that Father Nikiti, whom Morel saw at Varlaam overburdened with tokens of respect. "F. Nikiti came into the boat and sat in the cabin, between Madame M. and the Countess. People crowded round them. I could only put my head in at the door. The monk bowed and asked what was wished of him, the answer given being 'a moment's conversation.' 'What could I say,' he replied, 'but what is in the Gospel, to love one another, not to judge, to pray, etc.' From time to time he broke off to ask why he was paid such honour. The ladies were in tears, and I think every one was excited. The perfect simplicity, the deep conviction, with which the monk spoke, were most touching, especially in an old man whose life is nothing but colloquy with God."

HEGUMEN OF MONASTERY.

Further, there are no religious orders having a purpose, cost what it may, a rule suited to that purpose, and a union which makes each of them "a Church within the Church." All the convents are of the same contemplative sort. They depend on the bishop or synod. They neither stimulate nor annoy the State clergy. We can,

therefore, ignore them in a first sketch of the Russian Church.

Downwards, such independence left to each priest that it threatens to deprive him of the standard of activity; upwards, such effort at centralization as all but suffocates awakening initiative; everywhere parishes without life, dioceses without links, a synod which is a mere business office: there is no skeleton, no blood, no fibre in this headless Church. Thus a Western would speak, and I assure you I understand it, for when one imagines putting in France married priests, bishops who have never been in charge of parishes, and a council of laymen presided over by a minister, one would not give the French Church twenty years of life. Only France is France and Russia is Russia.

It must be added that if the Russian Church grates upon us it is not by its inability to realize our own ideal, but by its respect for another ideal. All its books bear witness to this. I only quote *the Catechism* which is official, and on the question of infallibility will draw points from a work also made authoritative—Macarius' *Introduction to Orthodox Theology*.

Orthodox Teaching about the Church

1. "*The Church*" *in the Catechism.* I quote the chief passages from pp. 43 sq.

Q. What is the Church?

A. The Church is a society founded by God of men united by the Russian Creed, the law of God, the hierarchy, and the Sacraments.

Q. What is the meaning of "belief in the Church?"

A. It means a pious respect for the true Church of Christ and obedience to its doctrine and precepts, and then the conviction that in it the grace which proceeds from its only eternal Head, Jesus Christ, dwells, acts for our salvation, teaches and governs.

Q. How can the Church which is visible be the object of faith when faith—to quote the Apostle—is an adherence to invisible things?

A. In the first place, however visible the Church may be, we cannot see the Grace of God bestowed on it and those who are hallowed in it; it is this grace which is properly speaking the object of belief in the Church. Secondly, the Church which is visible in so far as it is on earth and contains all the Russian Christians living on earth is also visible in so far as it is in heaven and contains all those who have died in the true Faith and in holiness.

Q. Why is the Church one?

A. Because it is one spiritual Body, with one Head, Christ, and inspired by one Spirit of God.

Q. How do we know unerringly that Jesus Christ is the One Head of the one Church?

A. The Apostle Paul writes that for the Church as the house of God no one can lay any other foundation than that which has been laid, i.e., Jesus Christ (1 *Cor.* iii. 10, 11). That is why the Church, as Christ's Body, can have no other Head than Jesus Christ. The Church required for its endurance through all ages a permanent Head, and has no other but Jesus Christ. That is why the Apostles are called *servants of the Church.—Col.* i. 24, 25.

Q. How do you reconcile with the unity of the Church the existence of many separate and indepen-

dent Churches, e.g., the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Russia?

A. They are partial Churches, or parts of the one Catholic Church. The separateness of their visible organizations does not hinder their being spiritually large members of the one Body of the Catholic Church, having one Head, Christ, and one Spirit of Faith and Grace. This unity finds visible expression in the same profession of faith and in union in prayer and sacraments.

Q. Is there any unity between the Church in heaven and the Church on earth?

A. Certainly, as much by their links to their One Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, as by their mutual ties.

Q. What is the means of communication between the Church on earth and the Church in heaven?

A. The prayer of faith, and love. The faithful, who belong to the Church on earth, when addressing their prayer to God, call to their aid the Saints, who belong to the Church in heaven; and these who have attained the highest promotion, in close nearness to God, by the intervention of their prayers cleanse, augment, and present before God the prayers of the faithful who are living on earth, and with God's approval exercise upon them a blessed and blessing influence either by invisible force or by apparitions, or in other ways.

Q. Why is the Church holy?

A. Because Jesus Christ makes it holy by His Passion, His teachings, His prayers, and the Sacraments.

Q. Why is the Church called *Sabornaia* or Catholic or Universal?

A. Because it is not limited by any place, time, or

people, but includes in itself the true believers of all times, all places, and all peoples.

Q. Why is the Church called Apostolic?

A. Because it keeps without interruption or change, from the beginning made by the Apostles, the teaching and the succession of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, thanks to the priestly imposition of hands.

Q. What does the symbol of faith teach when it calls the Church Apostolic?

A. It teaches that we must hold firmly to the Apostolic teaching and traditions, and avoid all teaching and every teacher not resting upon the teaching of the Apostles.

Q. What institution exists in the Church to preserve the succession of the Apostolic ministry?

A. The ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Q. Whence does the hierarchy of the Christian Church in Russia derive its origin?

A. From Jesus Christ Himself and from the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles, and since that time it continues without break by the laying on of hands in the Sacrament of Orders.

Q. What is the ecclesiastical authority which can exercise itself upon the whole Catholic Church?

A. A General Council.

Q. To what ecclesiastical authority are the great divisions of the Catholic Church [in Russia] subject?

A. To the Russian patriarchs and the Holy Synod.

Q. To what ecclesiastical authority are the smallest Russian provinces and towns subject?

A. To metropolitans, archbishops and bishops.

Q. What rank in the hierarchy is held by the Holy Synod?

A. A rank equal to that of the holy Russian patriarchs.

2. *Infallibility*—according to Macarius.

In his *Introduction to Orthodox Theology*, Macarius distinguishes in the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church four truths: (i) the Author and only Source of the infallibility of the Church is God in Three Persons; (ii) the instruments which the Holy Spirit employs to teach the Church and preserve it from all error are the successors of the Apostles, the pastors and teachers of the Church—let us add that it is not such and such a pastor, nor even a small number from among them only, but all the pastors together, i.e., the whole teaching Church; (iii) the objects of the infallibility of the Church are mainly all the truths of the Christian religion contained in revelation, i.e., as much in the consecrated tradition as in Holy Scripture; (iv) consequently, the infallibility of the Church consists in this, that our Lord Jesus Christ, after having entrusted to the whole body of His pastors the duty of guarding and preaching the divine revelation does not leave them and will never leave them, by the grace of His Holy Spirit, all to wander from the truth in this important mission; and by pastors one means that He will not let their flocks go astray either from the truth. In this way we do not in the least attribute to the Church the privilege of receiving new revelations from God, we simply say that it keeps in all its purity and in all its truth the revelation which had been previously bequeathed to it, i.e., we attribute to it not by any means that gift of divine inspiration which was bestowed on the Apostles, but only the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which keeps it from all error. (pp. 546–549 of the French edition.)

There is, then, no infallibility outside Ecumenical Councils. Yet the Westerns have no more right to

hold it, since, particularly upon the question of the *Filioque*, they have been separated from their brethren of the East. Hence, Christendom cannot recognize any authority in the Council "of the Latin Province" which at the Vatican decreed the infallibility of "the Patriarch of Rome." The constitution of Roman Catholicism stands condemned without appeal.

Such is the teaching which the Orthodox Church states authoritatively about herself. One can sum it up in two propositions which distinguish her clearly from the Church of Rome :—

(*a*) She recognizes no other Head than Jesus Christ.

(*b*) She has a minimum of organization.

It now remains for us to see how these two characters are the result of the social order.

How the Russian Church is conformed to Russian Society

Let us keep our former order—parish, diocese, synod, monasticism.

1. *The Parish.* The Russian people has not had time to distinguish itself very much from the simple people of the Asiatic steppes. In their pastoral communities, isolated like self-contained worlds, all powers are confusedly combined in the person of the patriarch, who is thus father, guide, judge, instructor, and priest. His duties are divided amongst different individuals as society grows more complex; among the half-nomad Bachkirs of the Ural—the type of transition from shepherd to farmer—the head of the family has abandoned the duties of priest and instructor, which yet remain united in the person of the *moullah*. It is after the type of the *Bachkir*

that we must place the Russian type. In the commune the father of the family and the council of the old men have kept too many of the old powers to let the priest have all those with which we are accustomed to seeing him invested. In particular, the *svachchenik* does not claim for himself alone either the ministry of teaching or the direction of conscience.

He cannot be the sole minister of teaching. This is because religious teaching, at least for the unlettered, is necessarily a very small thing, and is made simpler still by the inexactness of their dogmas. Hence doctrinal teaching is connected with teaching by example, and that is everybody's concern. There are not, therefore, clearly marked off from each other a Church which teaches and a Church which is taught. All the Russian doctors recognize this, but no one has expressed it with more eloquence than Alexis Khomiakov (*The Latin Church and Protestantism from the point of view of the Eastern Church*, pp. 53, 54): "The martyrs who died in the act of protesting that they gladly welcomed suffering and death for the truth of Christ were in the true sense of the words great teachers. He who said to his brother, 'I cannot convince you, but let us pray together,' and the man who was converted by his fervent prayer, are a powerful instrument of instruction. He who, by the force of his faith and love, cures a sick man and thereby brings back to God some wandering souls, is the master of these new disciples. Christianity certainly has its logical expression limited in the Creed, but this logical expression is not to be separated from other manifestations. There is also its logical teaching which we call 'theology,' but it is only a branch of general teaching. To isolate it is a great mistake; to make

a prerogative of it is foolish; to make of it a gift from heaven, connected with particular observance, is a heresy; it is to establish the mystery or sacrament of rationalism." That is the opinion of all the Russian Church.

The *svachchenik* cannot be, either, the sole director of conscience. In the West alone has the complexity of social relations brought about difficulties of conscience which need for their solution a spirit which has not endured them; e.g., a father is atheist, the mother a believer; they quarrel over their children's souls: the children come to "years of discretion"; what can they do between two influences which have been till then equally venerable? A doctor is torn between the desire of earning money to dower his daughters and the temptation to ruin himself in the pursuit of science, that is, of philanthropy: how is he to reconcile these two obligations, equally imperious? Look for similar problems: they will present themselves by scores. These "cases" of family or professional duty are settled by an individual who can only judge them impartially because he has no family or profession. That is why our society is obliged to evolve the position of a neutral arbiter, a consulting sociologist, a doctor of souls: the task of delimiting duty in particular cases falls naturally to one who preaches it in general cases, and that is by no means the slightest duty of a Western priest.

There is nothing at all like it in the Russian country districts. Every one has the same employment, the same faith, the same routine; there are no unforeseen temptations in which conscience cannot see clearly; even the most vicious have not many vices; for want of a society larger than the family or commune there are only family or com-

munal sins; the father or the *starost* can punish or prevent them, and the priest is no more the director of conscience than in those old houses which are known by the authority of family worship, and of which you may have seen the last in France.

What, then, is left to the Russian priest? The only thing left him is to administer the Sacraments. He is only the instrument for effectual actions, the impersonal mediator between God and man, the *tchinovnik* of grace. All this is due to social conditions, and they involve inevitably all the manifestations of parochial life which we have indicated. One could not understand the priest gathering round him a confraternity, for he is not head of the Church people. One would be astonished if he said Mass by himself, for the Mass is an assemblage in which he is but one individual. One allows that he might be married, because his duties do not in any way divide him from the commune. One pardons him if he gets drunk, because in his own house he is as much a man as other men. Even if he keeps for himself some of the first sheaves or young lambs which shy donors have brought by night to the church for the maintenance of worship, people would say that, being *tchinovnik*, he may, as others do, live at his master's expense, and even more than others, because his master is incalculably rich. A *seigneur* of the olden days would vindicate his rights by having his parish priest knouted in the courtyard, and then would bend lowly for his blessing when he saw him in the sacerdotal garb of his choir habit. At bottom the Russian priest is only a priest when stoled.

The Russian goes further. He is indignant at the influence which a priest can wield in France. To his mind we are less religious since we assign more

influence to the man; we lag behind with intermediaries, and so miss the goal; we are so absorbed with Church machinery as to forget its life; our spiritual life is entirely dependent on that of our pastor, and the proof that Christianity is only a human passion is that when the pastor falls his flock falls deeper than he. This would have to be proved, but there is no need for us to deal with it.

It is natural that the Russian who limits the spiritual activities of the priest should deprive him of all material duties. A large proportion of the parochial charges is, as a matter of fact, in the hands of the lower orders of clergy, or laymen. Hence in town churches has grown up the office of *starost*, or to give the ecclesiastical term, *ktitor*. The *ktitors* are the persons you see during the services selling papers or collecting alms. Taken, as a rule, from the tradesmen, they conduct the business of the parish, arrange the services, manage the accounts, look after the repairs, provide for the maintenance, all upon their own responsibility, and when the bishop has to come to officiate in their church it is they who invite him. They are half ecclesiastic, half men of the world.

"Half ecclesiastic, half men of the world"—the whole secret of Orthodoxy is expressed in that phrase. In Russia there are almost no absolute priests, but there are not, either, absolute lay folk. Everybody is conscious of belonging to the Church, and of duties and rights. If the laity have so much importance it is only with a view to their helping the clergy, and it helps them with so much Christian feeling that the clergy cannot take offence. We must not judge them by French standards. In France to introduce the laity into the Church would perhaps throw the hierarchy out of gear; in Russia

to interest the laity in the Church is surely to make religion felt in all departments of life. In France people say, "the priest in the sacristy," hinting that he pens up Christianity with him there; in Russia people say, "the priest in the altar," but one hears the whisper "Christianity everywhere."

THE ALTAR, i.e., THE WHOLE SPACE BEHIND THE ICONOSTASIS, SHOWING "PROTHESIS" WITH VEILED VESSELS, AND HOLY TABLE.

If, then, the Russian parish has no centre, no cohesion, no life, you must understand that it has not the artificial centre, cohesion, and life which Western parishes have developed in their struggle against the atheism of modern manners. In the country, the parish priest has no need to command because Christians are not combative, the faithful have no need of mutual association in "third orders" or

confraternities, because they have an unbreakable link in the charity produced by the *mir*, the supernatural life has no need of being further nourished by the help of pious rules, and it is by nothing but trickery that atheists are attempting now to destroy it. The parish is a community, that is all: but we are in the East. If the parish has not Western perfection it is because the social condition of the country makes it impossible, as we have seen; it is also, however, as we have just seen, because its religious condition makes it useless.

So far for the country. In the town some differences are to be noted. There is no *mir*, and that is the anarchic spirit of the towns. For these two reasons the parish must be more wanting in coherence. It is, in fact, what we have observed; but if the priest wishes to keep for the parish its usefulness he must set on foot in it agencies more or less resembling those which are found in France; he does that, as we have also noticed. The counter-proof is complete. When we have thoroughly grasped these lowly foundations of the ecclesiastical organization we can, without difficulty, see what the crown of it is like.

2. *The Diocese.* Here I shall be brief The diocese is an intermediate unity which is produced by unities at either extreme. Let it suffice to put on record (1) the opinion of sociologists who compare the episcopate to the nobility—organs of transmission evolved from similar causes—and (2) the agreement of the bishops who, when asked about reforms, considered that instead of re-establishing the patriarchate and summoning a council it would be more useful to increase diocesan independence. I pass to the Holy Synod.

3. *The Holy Synod.* Here, on the other hand,

I cannot be too emphatic. No! the Synod is not "the head" of the Church. No! the High Procurator does not keep the clergy "in leading strings." No! the Tsar is not a "Pope." To be quite correct, the Holy Synod does on a larger scale what is done on a small scale in each parish. The Synod has the same "administrative" power and the same "religious" moderation as the *ktitors*. Peter the Great made himself the universal *ktitor*.

Let me prove this. You know the Synod canonizes the saints. As the Imperial Order figures in the act of canonization, at least for the summons of the Synod, some Westerns who are tied down to the letter of formulas cannot understand how such and such a personage can be God's friend by the Tsar's will. Listen, then, to a narrative which some one has just told me, and which I detail to you, mingling in it truth, legends, and my own lapses of memory.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, on the confines of Siberia, the earth of a cemetery was dug up, and a body was found which exhaled a delicious fragrance. Name there was none. Then some time afterwards the bishop came there. At his last stopping place he had seen in a dream the Boyard Simeon, an exile of the time of Ivan Grozny or Boris Godounof, who did needlework there for the peasants, and stitched so badly that his poorest clients had an excuse for not paying him. There was no doubt: Simeon's was the body which had just been found; the bishop must ask the Synod to authenticate the miracle. Another bishop came some years later, and wrote a report favourable to the canonization, but the Synod let the matter rest. A long time after one of his successors made a report of a more urgent kind, but the Synod took no more notice than before. How-

ever, the bishops have allowed honour to be paid to the mortal remains of the pretended Simeon. They were put in a metal reliquary, and pilgrims said their prayers before it. The pilgrims have grown in number, the metal reliquary has been changed for one of silver. For this reliquary a church was required. The church has become the centre of a monastery. The monastery has built a more beautiful church. The new church has attracted fresh monks. There was such faith in Simeon that he was called "saint" in the petition for his canonization, and in prayers which had not yet been authorized. The whole of a religious world had come forth from the grave with him, and he would never receive official consecration. And that is a specimen of how everywhere in Russia the piety of the common people is satisfied by making saints of persons of whose lives they know nothing and whose names they have to invent.

It is exactly the same in the most part of religious matters. The initiative comes from the people. The Holy Synod neither stimulates nor restrains it. All it does is to authorize.

Let us try to explain this twofold character of the Holy Synod, administrative omnipotence and religious neutrality. Of course the Synod is, like most of Peter the Great's achievements, an artificial institution. But it is enough to say that it has lasted long enough to win recognition of at least its usefulness. The Russian, *svachchenik* or *ktitor*, cares so little for governing, that he gladly relinquishes all government to the most distant authority, which, in this sphere, is the Synod; and in its turn the clergy, which is part of the Synod, is so far removed from the employments of the office that it is disburdened of them under the High Procurator; but at the same time the Russian has a faith too spontaneous not to

escape the restraints of a local authority, and much more the restraints of the central authority. The links between the Synod and the parish are of the same kind as the links between the ministry and the *mir*, at worst an autonomy almost like that of a small republic, at best an attempt at centralization which is more necessary than effective. The ecclesiastical follows the lines of the civil organization. Both are products of the Russian temperament.

4. *Monasticism.* What I have just said would be enough. If I delay over the monks it is to explain at the same time the psychology of the worship of the saints, and the unity it gives to the Church.

Recollect that the Russian is served by his community much more than he serves it. This indolent communism is his second original sin. Thus there is something of heroism in those who conquer the national shortcoming. Weary of the corruption caused by the common life, the Russian heroes fled from the world to practise that which is for them the greatest trial, solitude ; it is on this account that they win the admiration of their fellow-countrymen, and, in fact, except for the Apostles and fathers, and historical saints like Vladimir and Alexander, popular piety has given the aureole only to anchorets. However, the state of perfection is interrupted even among the highest adepts at solitude. Many persons who have fled from the world have not been able to get rid of social instincts, and having all at first the same love of isolation, have been gently drawn together to practice it in common. Those holy persons who have not been thus reunited have become ordinary monks. There are, then, two kinds of religious in the convents. Those who are disposed in groups at some centre, fugitive from the snares, but also from the

business of the world, too proud to till the soil, fond of singing hymns, faithful in observing fasts, and somewhat inclined to indulgence in drink, these reproduce the traditional faults and virtues of the peasant. But, scattered in the *sketes* of the forest, live men whose highest exemplar is S. Serge: they live on roots, devote themselves to meditation, and their virtue is such as to tame the bears; these have deemed it perfection to thwart their instincts, and perhaps show themselves Russians still by this very exaggeration. That is why one may say that in Russia monasticism and saintliness are merely national.

One can say more. There is a monasticism of which the East is entirely ignorant, e.g., that of the Dominicans. Men put into a common store their money and ambition, and are separated from the world for tasks of evangelization or instruction. You see the difference. While the Eastern monk chooses to live either in community or in solitude, the Western religious adopts them both together. While the Eastern monk accepts the community for what protection it can afford, the Western religious submits to it in all its constraining force. Lastly, while the Russian ascetic loves solitude for its negative holiness, the French missionary likes to be sent away from his community to vindicate his power of conquest. We must not compare them with each other, but realize each in his own surroundings. In France there is the greatest variety of arrangement from the community to the individual life, so that each order of religious can choose those which are best suited to its work. In Russia there is no middle term between the omnipotence of the family and the solitariness of the individual; and we have the Russian tossed to-and-fro between

submissiveness and anarchy, and ending up with being nearly always unable to rule any society. This character of public life is reflected characteristically in the monastic life. That is why there are only two kinds of monks. That is why, above all, neither the submissive nor the independent leaven the Church. At one time the Russian type appears in what monasticism is, at another in what it is not. The likeness between the convents and society is proved, and proved twice over.

The survey of monasticism thus confirms the resemblance put forward in regard to the Synod, eparchies, and parishes. This fourfold investigation explains at the same time two points indicated at the close of the foregoing section:—

(1) Orthodoxy has no wish for a visible head, because in secular life Russia only considers authority as a kind of patronage, and authority of this sort would be meaningless when transferred to religious subjects.

(2) Orthodoxy is very little organized because there is so little differentiation in Russian society.

It is true that in modern times centralized government has been set up in Russia. But it is an institution specially intended to deal with the congenital anarchy. A human interest has produced it. The Church never had the same intention; it, then, has been able to continue more primitively national.

This fact, then, is established: "Russian religion exactly suits Russian society." Sociology is saved. Is Christianity? It can only be on condition that the Russian Church should be truly a Church. Then, when they see the same want of organization in society and in the Church, those who think that society is crumbling to pieces in anarchy think the Church is crumbling to pieces in Protestantism.

Certainly there has been split off from it a multitude of sects. All the same, I submit that Orthodoxy has no infection of Protestantism. This I have now to prove.

Protestantism—at least the extreme Protestantism which Maurice Legendre and you have so cleverly sketched in the *Revue Catholique des Eglises*—has two characteristics:—intellectual arrogance, which isolates itself in freedom of thought; a craving for novelties, which breaks it away from tradition. Then, Western nations have similar characteristics—the spirit of individualism, which has followed, by reaction, on the decay of the old communal life; the spirit of revolution, produced to-day by the derangement of industry. The West is the home of Protestantism.

On the contrary, there could not be a worse soil for Protestantism than communal and conservative Russia. (1) The Russian is communal; for him all morality can be deduced from love of the neighbour, and all worship is, to start with, association; he thinks that Christ is only present with those who are assembled for prayer; his Christianity might cease to be "religious," it could never cease to be "ecclesiastical." But the only question there is of communal Churches: a seed-plot of parishes does not make even a diocese: how these Churches form one Church is, it would seem, the knotty point.

(2) It is at this turn that the conservatism of the Russian intervenes. The isolated Churches are in no danger of becoming Protestant because they keep the Gospel of the Apostles with as much fidelity as they keep their forefathers' plough. However few may be the links of these remote villages to the rest of the world, their chimes of faith remain in tune like those of the finest clocks. The air of

Russia is so still that the divine words which have been uttered in it are wafted in it eternally. Among these words is the Saviour's promise to be with His Church—a promise able to keep in its unity, and in its alone, characters so mystical as to be the exact opposite of Didymus; he required that he should put his fingers into the nail-prints, they would probably doubt the existence of God if they saw Him. The true centre of the Russian Church is its Founder. It is coherent in ratio with its invisibility. That does not preclude the effectiveness of secondary agencies. Currents of feeling which admit of human explanation help to unify the observances initiated in different localities. Sometimes these are pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints, as S. Serge, to the monastery of the Troitza near Moscow, or of S. Séraphim at Sarof in the Government of Tambof; old men remember having heard in early childhood the prophecies of Séraphim, and the friend of Dmitri Donskoi did not lead in the fourteenth century a different life from that of the monk in the nineteenth; for the rest the office sung near their reliquaries is the ordinary office of the dead, both are present as much as the people who died yesterday; they are more alive than the metropolitans. If any one reflects that at Kiev alone there are more than a million pilgrims each year, he can gauge the influence wielded by the monks who never leave their homes, simply as guardians of venerated tombs, and is forced to marvel at the part played by the relics of the saints in the communion of the living. Sometimes, on the other hand, there are people like John of Cronstadt, traversing the country, preaching, giving alms and healing; the concourse at the railway stations where they stop for a few minutes is so great that with difficulty can the

Governor's carriage make its way through. Russia is the only country in the world which still produces "prophets," and you will remember that Vladimir Soloviev, in *The Russian Idea*, speaks of the prophetic ministry as one of the three great functions of humanity. Last of all, when isolation causes the risk of some change in the faith, a Nikon corrects the corrupted books, a Nicholas I. punishes the schismatics; the invisible Church demands assistance from the visible Church, and the visible Church leans on the secular arm. But whatever importance the Western may attach to his work, in Russia the mystical Church takes precedence of the Church as an institution.

You will get a better idea of it by comparing the actual conditions of the Church in Russia and the Church in France.

In France, society is fundamentally anti-Christian. Who could make the average good sort of people believe that the poor in spirit are blessed, that you must offer the left cheek, that you must not store up in your barns, that you must carry your cross and lose yourself to find yourself? Christian doctrine and the doctrine of the world are too opposed to be harmonized, and the separation of the Church from the State was accomplished centuries ago. In consequence of this separation the Church has been obliged to organize herself solidly enough for self-defence. She could not have succeeded in this if she had not been an institution. But in order to resist the State she has been obliged, on the outside at least, to copy the State; in order to have a grasp upon the morals, she has been obliged, externally again, to imitate our laws; in order to attain a supernatural goal, she was none the less forced to use natural means. Then our centralized societies have

accustomed us to abandon all initiative before that of authority, to consider blind obedience as the first virtue of an association, to participate in life only by respecting the intermediaries when it has come to us from on high. In the same way the Church has been obliged to become a body dependent on a very strong head, which requires, first of all, absolute submission, and in return bestows the needed stimulus. A Western wants a Church solidly built on its human framework. Without it the invisible Church would cease to exist.

In Russia, society is so Christian that our supernatural virtues would, so to speak, be deemed natural: faith comes easily to Russian mysticism, hope is necessary in that evil climate, charity is inseparable from patriarchal rule. The Russian even has—excuse the paradox—the defects of Christianity. "Blessed are the poor in spirit!" to say *idiot* is only the word *blagenny*! "offer the right cheek!" how he exaggerates servility! "Love your enemies": he would rather be oppressed than be conqueror. "Consider the lilies of the field,"—the nation is dying of idleness, routine, and improvidence. In this environment the problem of existence is already solved for the Church. The Church invisible is as solid as the visible Church. One is Christian because he is Russian, that is all.

The Church and the Faith

The Russian Church, then, explains itself: in its turn it explains Russian worship. Something was wanting to my last letter: this supplies it.

The Russians have no experience of great struggles in the supernatural life: the Church gives them no framework to sustain their ardour.

They like piety which is confused; their parishes, also, are without organization. They are afraid of the growth of services: they have no teaching body sufficiently strong to give constant direction. The chapter on the Church is the main point; because the chapter on piety is, without it, open to misinterpretation.

But one can go further and say that, apart from the notion of the Church, it is the very notion of the Faith which remains incomprehensible.

To prove this let me resume the question of belief at a little higher point; this will afford me the opportunity of again discussing the psychology of the second of my letters, and of acknowledging that it also bears upon the question of the Church.

I remind you, first, of two features of Russian thought. First, love of confused ideas which suggest more than clear ideas; second, search for the absolute, because these confused ideas are sufficiently rich to suffice for themselves. Let us apply these remarks to our religious speculation.

1. For the most part *Russian beliefs are distinguished from ours by having less of intellectual outline, but more of sentimental or voluntary inclination.* The Russian urges that an error is never innocent — and accordingly persecutes the Sectaries—or that infallibility involves impeccability, and is thereby hindered from accepting Papal Infallibility. It is, then, probable that for him the Faith will not be an act of the spirit only. He refuses, in fact, to accept our distinction between faith and works, for without works faith would not be faith, and the controversy about justification seems to him a mere quarrel about words. All his theologians vie with each other to declare this. I quote from one of the most distinguished. Alexis Stépanovitch

Khomiakov—so well known to us through Morel—was one of the greatest men in Europe, and one of the leading French writers. However frank his personality might be, it completely illustrates the Russian type, because his personality consisted in his putting into synthesis whatever there was original in Orthodoxy. Under the title *The Latin Church and Protestantism from the point of view of the Eastern Church*, he published at Lausanne a series of apologetic works written between 1853 and 1860. There you read: "Faith, life, and truth in combination are the act by which man, condemning his own imperfect and evil individuality, aspires after union with the moral being, *par excellence*, Jesus, the Righteous, the God-Man" (p. 134). And again: "It is not an act of the reason alone, but an act of all the powers of intelligence seized and subdued in their deepest recesses by the quickening reality of Revelation. It is not only thought or felt, but thought and felt at the same time. In a word, it is not merely knowledge, but knowledge and life combined" (p. 51). And, above all: "The faith which probes the depth of divine mysteries is not a mere kind of belief, it is a species of knowledge: but it is not a species of knowledge like that which we have of the material world, it is an interior knowledge like that which we have of the facts of our intellectual life. It is, then, a gift of divine grace; it is the presence of the Spirit of Truth in ourselves. Further, the union of earthly man with his Saviour is always imperfect; it only becomes perfect in the sphere wherein man sheds his imperfection in the perfection of mutual love which unites Christians with one another. In that sphere man no longer rests on his own strength, which is only weakness; he does not reckon any

more upon his own individuality, he only reckons upon the holiness of that link of love which joins him to his brethren, and his hope cannot deceive him, for this link is the Christ Himself, Who makes out of the humility of each the grandeur of all" (p. 265, 266). You ought to read over carefully, weighing each word, this page which, from its unlimited horizon, is one of the most "Russian" I know. Every Russian makes of faith, in the partial shadow of his thoughts and the warmth of his devotion, the richest act of his rich nature. Hence he scorns carping about Purgatory, and for the same reason dares not assign to the Sacraments matter and form. In his eyes scholasticism contracts the majesty of the mysteries by its intellectual precision, and he despises "the faith of the coal merchant" because, by dividing man into an atheist spirit and a credulous heart, it destroys the complex unity of the true Faith.

2. Further, *the faith of the Russian is "absolute," while the Latin's belief seems to him only "relative."* According to Khomiakov when the Latins, for purely speculative reasons, added the *Filioque* to the Creed without consulting their Eastern brethren, they incurred in punishment for this moral fratricide all the consequences of rationalism. Their faith became a faith of the intellect; a faith of the intellect became a faith of the individual. On the day of the schism Protestantism was born. To prevent the inevitable dissolution the Church of Rome was obliged to set on foot a doctrinal authority so much stronger than freedom of thought had been threatening, that it affirmed, in the face of reason which had become completely independent, the Infallibility of the Pope. It is to this Infallibility that Latin dogma is "relative." But I prefer to let Khomiakov speak for himself.

In 1855 he wrote: "I have stated that in the first age, and up to the period of the great schism of the West, the knowledge of divine truths was considered to belong to the whole body of the Church united by the spirit of charity and love. This doctrine, maintained right down to our own day, has recently been loudly proclaimed by the unanimous assent of the patriarchs and of all Eastern Christians. The West, faithless to the tradition of the Church, assumed, in the ninth century, the right of altering the Ecumenical Creed without the consent of her Eastern brethren, at the very time when these were offering a proof of their fraternal courtesy by submitting to her approval the decisions of the Council of Nicæa. What is the inevitable logical result of this usurpation? The logical principle of knowledge, expressed by the revision of the Creed, being once separated from the moral principle of love, expressed by the accord of the Church. It was discovered that Protestant anarchy was actually established. Every diocese could claim, in opposition to the Western patriarch, the right which he had claimed in opposition to the whole body of the Church, every parish could claim it in opposition to the diocese, every individual in opposition to all his neighbours. No sophistry can evade this conclusion. Either the truth of the Faith has been given to the union of all, and to their mutual love in Jesus Christ, or it can be given to every individual without any connection with others. To avoid this result and its anarchical consequences, we must replace the moral law which chafed the youthful pride of the Germano-Roman nations, by some new law, external or internal, which can, or at least seems to, give an indubitable authority to the decisions of ecclesiastical society in the West. This necessity

gradually produced the idea of the infallibility of the Pope. In fact, his administrative and judicial supremacy — which, nevertheless, would not bear serious criticism—could not, even if it were admitted in its own most literal sense, be stretched to justify schismatic doctrine or conduct. A conditional infallibility—such, for instance, as that which requires the agreement of the whole Church with the Papal decisions—would not allow of it any more, since a new dogmatic definition has been introduced into the Ecumenical Creed without the consent of the Eastern patriarchs, not one of whom had even received warning. Romanism remained schismatic in the eyes of the Church where it was held to have justified all the license of Protestantism, for less than an absolute infallibility attributed to the Bishop of Rome. Such is the inevitable consequence, which is now recognized by a very considerable number of Latins, and possibly by all. However, this absolute infallibility has never been reckoned as a dogma beyond question, and it does not concern us in our day. [Khomiakov wrote this in 1855.] It is a question which the Church of Rome dare not broach. From another point of view, this Papal Infallibility was, on the actual acknowledgement of the Latins, absolutely unknown in the earliest days of the Church: it was vigorously denied by the fathers of the first centuries (cf. the work of S. Hippolytus and the condemnation pronounced by an Ecumenical Council against the memory of Honorius for error in dogma), it has never been put to the fore in the first controversies of the Latins with the Greeks, nor even in the latest arguments; in a word, it is evidently only a conventional principle welcomed, as an after-thought and of necessity, to justify an illegal act which had

been committed prior to its adoption." (*The Latin Church and Protestantism*, pp. 99–102.)

To this faith, relative because it is impoverished, Khomiakov opposes the Russian faith, showing the link in it between the complex and absolute in this passage which I quote at full length: "Faith in the case of the individual sinful man is eminently subjective, and in consequence admits a perpetual doubt, it feels in itself the possibility of error. For it to be lifted above doubt and error it must be lifted up above itself, push its roots into an objective world, a world of sacred realities of which it has been made a part, but a living and integral part, for one does not believe without doubt, or preferably, one only knows the world to which oneself belongs. This world cannot be found in the activities of isolated individuals, nor in their haphazard concord (a dream of the Protestants), nor in an external bond of slavery (the folly of the Romans), it is only found in an intimate union of human subjectivity with the real objectivity of an organic and living world, of a holy unity of which the law is neither an abstraction nor a thing of human invention but a divine reality, God Himself in the revelation of mutual love. This world is the Church. Intelligence which is unrefined and stunted, intelligence blinded by the sins of its own perverse will, neither sees nor can see God. The Church is exterior to this, as is the evil of which such intelligence is the slave. Its belief is only a simple logical opinion, and can never become the faith of which it sometimes usurps the name. It is holiness which converts belief into faith, and which makes it interior to God Himself by the grace of the quickening Spirit Whose gift it is. Thus faith is the Holy Spirit setting His seal to belief, but this seal a man does not get possession

of at his own will, and isolated man in his subjectivity does not get possession of at all. It has been given once only for all the centuries, on the great Day of Pentecost, to the Church of the Apostles, 'united in the holy bond of love of prayer,' and since that time the Christian, man subjective, protestant, blinded by the results of his moral weakness, becomes seeing and Catholic in the holiness of the Church of the Apostles of which he is made an integral part." (*The Latin Church and Protestantism*, pp. 240–242.)

Thus, for Khomiakov, *faith is the Church.* Modern psychologists would call this passage "a theory of belief." It is a theory—if it *is* theory—of singular range and depth. If a Roman Catholic does not recognize at first sight, the history of Papal Infallibility in this sketch of the Russian theologian, he can, on the other hand, subscribe without reserve to this last conception of the Church. I cannot discuss the several positions in detail. But I still have to show how *in Russia faith is absolute because it rests on the Church.* Khomiakov is satisfied with saying, like the believer he was, "It is holiness which turns belief into faith, and makes it interior to God Himself." One may be excused for adding to this statement a little social psychology.

The Canons of the Seven Councils—the complete body of Orthodox dogma—relate the mysteries of the love of God for us, and this love gives us the strength to love our neighbour as ourself. Only the mystery of love sustains the law of love, and only the virtue of love understands the mystery of love. More bluntly, the Russian is a creature of communal life. As such, psychologically, he has no quality more ordinary than charity, and socially he has no authority more ordinary than that of Councils. His circumstances of life do not allow him, like the

Western, to judge of charity in the name of science, and to summon it from the decision of an assembly to the criticism of his reason. On the contrary, from his temperament, he would judge a work of art by the good will which it suggests to him, and he will only be sure of being right when all the ancients have spoken to him. He is decided by love, and his thought is corporate. Thus the fundamental truths of Christianity correspond to the fundamental needs of his own soul, and the way in which the fathers have stated them reproduces the daily procedure of the civil governments. Dogma is the very constitution of Russia, given in a constitutional way. As at the bottom of that motionless Empire the Russian knows of nothing else than the identity of his society and his Christianity, he has no name by which to estimate either the one or the other. To profess the Christian dogma according to the authority of the Councils, is from a Russian standard, to state that one is a Russian. The Creed is a document of which the average citizen could only doubt if he doubted his own existence. His dogma cannot rest upon nothing, because everything rests upon it. It is in thought, in feeling, in action the "absolute."

Let us resume. Dogma is absolute, because it is rich. In fact, it would never have proved adequate if it had only been a theorem, it is the foundation of life because it is a kind of charity. In this charity the Eastern Church attains to its completeness. All religious questions, then, turn in the last resort upon the question of the Church.

In regard to organization, whether ecclesiastical or that of practical piety, the conclusions of the last two chapters agree. Between Roman Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy there is more than a religious

difference, there is a difference deep-rooted in society.

Of this difference we have seen the aggravation on every page, and these last pages oblige us to say something further. The schism was not the alienation of two Churches which had no external communications, but were internally similar: the one is primarily an invisible society, the other is, to start with, visible; the one has no head upon earth, the other has such a head, and the most absolute head there could be. That is the severance. It separates not only two Churches, but two different ideas of the Church. People are schismatic because they do not understand the term schism in the same way, and if they wished to recover the communion of the first days, they would have first to apply themselves to the meaning of the term "communion."

I conclude with this letter my "Sociology" of Russian Christianity. Criticism can immedately be offered. I said at the outset that the Russian was communal and individualist at the same time. When, later, I wished to show the harmony between his religion and his temperament, it was especially on his communal qualities that I laid stress. Orthodoxy would, then, only be half Russian. It would only perfectly suit a society which was altogether patriarchal. I may have exaggerated its efficiency. The Orthodox are less faithful to it. Their criticisms are numerous. Sometimes it is sheer raillery, as in the story where God invites a starving wolf to eat the parish priest's mare; sometimes it is a scathing indictment, as in these very fashionable sentences borrowed from Prougavine: "Sin is dead, i.e., nothing is now reckoned as sin, truth has been put out like a candle, sincerity is in hiding, justice in flight, virtue goes begging, truth is buried in the

ruins of falsehood, faith is in Jerusalem, hope with the anchor at the bottom of the sea, honesty has made its retreat, fidelity is on the chemist's scales, tenderness is in battle or at the police-station, law is with the senators under their party badges, . . . patience is all but exhausted." (*The Raskol and the Sects*, p. 29.) These scattered utterances are heard by Westerns, collected, exaggerated, dramatized in the utterances of Leo Tolstoi. They cannot refrain from brooding on the prophecy of Vladimir Solovief, "Orthodoxy will be splintered between Protestantism and Catholicism." It seems to be splintered already. Numberless sects have been and still are being broken off from it. They contain many millions of adherents. This number would of itself be impressive. If it contains a caution we must seek for it. I will deal with it in my next letter. All the same, expect it without distressing yourself.

LETTER VI

THE RASKOL AND THE SECTS

In writing "Oxford" on the envelope I send you, I think of the fine book you will soon give us on the English Nonconformists. Further I feel somewhat ashamed of what I have to say about the Russian Nonconformists. For this there are three reasons. First, I have not your talent; second, the sectaries of the Caucasus are very difficult of access, and when one refers to their historians one finds many statements too impassioned to be just. The last is that in individualist England the sects can exercise a religious leaven of the highest kind, while in communal Russia they are often the resultant of anarchical negligence. You will very soon see that they have no future. Now that you are used to my method, you will not need for me to arrange my proofs in a form which would be artificial, and I can quite simply tell you their history.

Russia's dissenters can be arranged into two groups, the *Raskol* and the sects properly so-called. Their numbers are stated to be in official statistics three millions, at ten or fifteen millions by most authors. The official figures are certainly too low, because, as they are liable to persecution if they do not communicate at Easter, many dissenters pretend they are Orthodox; and the unofficial figures are certainly too high, because in countries where there

are not many roads, and in those where there is a fault-finding spirit, many communes are only schismatical by accident; their schism is due to inadequate communication with the rest of the world, or to misapprehension which could easily be cleared up. As for their proportions one can easily gauge them from the statistics made up to date of M. Jousov:—

Old Believers with priests, 3½ millions.

Old Believers without priests, 7 millions.

Mystical sects (Men of God and Mutilated), upwards of 60 thousands.

Rationalist sects (*Doukhabory*, *Malakany*, etc.), 2 millions.

The Raskol

The history of the establishment of the *Raskol* can be summed up in the phrase—"inertia disturbed by revolutions." The Russian Church, long after the Tartar domination, remained very wanting in refinement and knowledge. Its want of refinement caused the flight into forests of scrupulous souls, who devoted themselves to penitence and despised the hierarchy. As for the priests, their sacred books had been copied by men who cared for nothing but the mistakes in spelling, and ended by foisting into the Gospel the errors of the first centuries. For lack of communication between the villages the Orthodox Faith was, at that time, a complicated mass of local heresies, which people only held because they had received them from their fathers, but which they would have defended against an autograph Gospel of S. Matthew. Thus, in some cases asceticism, in others loyalty to the recent past, began to weaken instead of strengthen the

Church. A monk, very learned for the sixteenth century, in which he lived, Maximus the Greek, began to emend the Scriptures in accordance with the MSS. at Byzantium; this "criticism" startled the bishops, and Maximus, immured in one monastery after another, died in the lonely pursuit of his apologetic work. Ivan Grozny—the Terrible—grasped the situation better. In 1551 he summoned a Sabor, at which amongst others a decree was made for the revision of the Bible: all that was wanted was priests competent to carry it out. In 1564 Ivan founded at Moscow a printing press, from which were issued corrected Bibles; the printing was good, but there were no corrections, and the cure only stereotyped the disease. Several times in the course of the century the experiment of a printing press, or the venture of Maximus the Greek, was renewed; the universal custom always proved victorious over the Tsar's good intention: the Church was asleep.

Nikon arose. He was a man of new ideas, if one can call them new. When raised to the patriarchate he began by having the question of the sources of the Scripture and the Liturgy studied at Constantinople and when he was sure of himself he put himself at the head of the movement. In 1654 was assembled a Sabor in which a great majority supported him. Its decree was approved by a second Sabor summoned at Constantinople. At a third Council (in 1655), in the presence of foreign patriarchs, he gave orders, e.g., for the sign of the Cross to be made with three fingers, not two, and for the name of Christ to be written IISSOUS and not ISSOUS: those who refused to conform were sent to the monasteries!

The rank and file of the clergy were furious; they

could not forgive the patriarch for requiring that deacons should know how to read, and that every one's conduct should be good. There was fury in the convents where the exiles encouraged adherence to venerable defects. There was fury among the people, whom their priests, people like themselves, had no difficulty in winning to their side. There was fury among the boyards, who were annoyed by Nikon's hauteur. "Prince of heretics," "Forerunner of Antichrist," "Friend of Satan," are some of the names given him. As a matter of fact the Church wanted reform, every one felt the duty of self-amendment; but the task was likely to be so heavy that, by a hypocrisy frequent at such crises as these, the indignation accumulated against the established order was quietly vented on its reformer.

In 1658 Nikon abdicated. In 1667 the great Sabor—composed of ten metropolitans, eight archbishops, six bishops, without counting archimandrites—deposed him for relinquishing his episcopal throne, but excommunicated those who refused to accept his corrections. This sentence of excommunication caused May 13, 1667, to become a notable date in Russian history. The Church thought it had put a stop to disagreements; as a matter of fact she had decreed schism. The opponents of Nikon, who till then had been called "Old Ritualists" (*Staroobriadtsy*), or "Old Believers" (*Starovéry*), were thenceforward called *Raskolniki*, i.e., dissenters.

A separation that would soon be over it might have seemed then. The schismatics would only have been distinguished from the Orthodox by details of minor importance, the signing of the Cross with two fingers, the spelling of the name JESUS, the double Alleluia, the cross with eight arms, the mean-

ing of processions round the baptisteries, and a small number of local traditions. What would be the obstinacy of the peasants and the determination of the authorities no one could have guessed. But two series of events threw everything into confusion.

Revolts. The wretchedness of the people and the weakness of the Government were the constant cause of widespread revolts from the beginning of the seventeenth century, which we have called "the time of the troubles." Some are interesting. The Convent of Solovietski, converted to the *Raskol* by the Old Ritualists who had been confined there, was possessed of wealth full of temptations to persons who had no sympathy with "religion"; it took occasion from the harshness of Orthodoxy to assert, by help of cannon fire, an independence which its remote situation on the White Sea seemed to allow to it: against it were sent tens of thousands of irregular troops, who could only take it by treachery (1676). On the death of Feodor Alexievitch (1682), when Sophia was regent during the minority of Peter the First, the *Streltsi*, or popular infantry, mutinied. They had a political dissatisfaction with the regent's intrigues, but as the *Streltsi* were for the most part "Old Believers" their old faith gave to the civil war the dignity of a holy war: had it not been for that they would, of their own accord, have laid down their arms. Importance may have attached to one fact or another, but the *Raskol* had already ceased to be an ecclesiastical, and become a political movement of the most disturbing kind: "The sign of the Cross with two fingers," and "The cross with eight arms" became the war cries of the opposition parties.

The schism passed beyond hope of healing when Peter the Great tried to Europeanize Russia. This

A Western Innovation.

was because the *Raskol* had been specially recruited from among the common people, and the common people were bound to be more shocked than the nobles at knee-breeches and buckle-shoes. Then the Tsar made the years begin on January 1, though God

TROIKA—SLEDGE DRAWN BY THREE HORSES ABREAST.

had created them on September 1. At the Court tobacco was smoked; but smoking is a far greater sin than getting tipsy, for it is written that "what defiles a man is not what enters, but what comes forth from his mouth," as does the smoke of the devil's plant, tobacco. Convinced that the least word of the Scriptures applies to the least of contemporary facts, the *Starovéry* made a poor distinction between novelties in religion and manners. The *Raskol* was no longer merely unsettled in his religion, he was wounded in his devotion to his

country. He had to fight, not now against Nikon, but against the West. From Peter they had everything to fear, against him they had everything to dare. The Government intensified its persecution, the *Raskol* multiplied its martyrs.

Up to this time the *Raskol* was not a sect, but a tendency, which, although it originated through the reforms, was anti-reforming. It is just the opposite with Western Protestantism. Protestantism makes progress and is organized. The *Raskol* hinders everything and organizes nothing. It is thoroughly national in its mixture of faithfulness and independence, submission and violence, strictness and extravagance. It is an unique phenomenon in the history of Christendom.

Thenceforward, two sorts of schismatics can be distinguished—*Papovtsy*, who have priests; *Bezpapovtsy*, who have not.

(1) *The Papovtsy.* The proof that the *Raskol* has been *Raskol* without wishing it can be seen in the history of the beginnings of its priesthood. At the beginning, all the *Starovéry* were convinced that Nikon's followers would soon see their mistake. When they saw them persist in it, they thought the world was coming to an end. In either case, it was useless to provide for the future. So the *Starovére* bishop, Paul Kolomenski, died in prison without having had time to consecrate other bishops. From that time the schism has been without a bishop. It very nearly lost its priesthood in the same way. Its members felt some distress when their pastors of the first days of schism died. Some, on their death-beds, "bequeathed" their powers to laymen, who were greatly put to it to make use of them for want of ordination. At other times they welcomed into the *Raskol* priests who had broken

away from the Government Church, on condition that they had received Baptism before Nikon, for since Nikon the Church no longer had true Baptism. At the end of some years there were no pre-Nikonian priests. The *Raskolniki* then re-baptized all seceders from Orthodoxy while leaving them their priestly dress, for the new Baptism could not make them lose an Ordination which the *Raskolniks* would not have been able to supply. At a later time they did not trouble to re-baptize. In spite of all, the priests who seceded were but few.

It was, further, inevitable that unlawfully consecrated, or false bishops, should arise amongst them, e.g., the monk Jacovlev, who got himself consecrated by presenting forged letters (1725); or the hierodeacon Ambrose, who satisfied himself by taking a false name instead of being consecrated. The first was put in prison, and the second found safety in Poland, where he died "General" of his order; the hierarchy did not survive him.

However, as there were no priests, it was clearly necessary to entrust laymen with some of the priest's duties; among the *Vetkovski* they have, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, given Unction and Communion. All the same, they have made advances to Orthodox popes, to win them over to their body, often by means which were in no way supernatural. The *Raskol* was thus reduced to a condition of dependence, and dependence on two bodies, its own laity and the Orthodox. Otherwise, it was composed of isolated and even hidden communities, of which the most thriving were, at the risk of Government interference, those of the Isle of Vetka, Staraboudié, and the Ragojski cemetery at Moscow. They were only united when they produced a valorous chief like Michel Kalmyk, i.e., by

accident. Ordinarily their only link was money, which they spent freely, because many of the *Raskolniki*, perhaps through their temperate and pure lives, had amassed great wealth; and they are to-day the greatest merchants on the south

THE SOLOVIETSKI MONASTERY, ON THE WHITE SEA.

side of the river at Moscow. The *Raskol* never really existed as a Church. Shall I tell you the end of its history?

The Government, after having persecuted it, tried to conciliate it. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it authorized some priests to officiate according to the old customs. They were "Old Believers" in their liturgy, "Orthodox" in obedience. They were *Staroobriadtsy*, but not *Raskolniki*. People call them *Edinavertsy*, i.e., Sharers of the same faith. Their churches were opened to the Orthodox as well as to the schismatics. The State hoped to

reclaim the dissenters, but they made a great miscalculation; the scheme was only half successful.

About the same time the *Starovéry* made up their minds that they must have a bishop, but only found one, in 1846, in the person of Ambrose, Metropolitan of Bosnia, who had been dismissed from his office and was in great poverty. He was persuaded to attach himself to the *Raskol*, and received as his see the *Raskolnik* monastery of Bielokrinitsa in Austria. Two years afterwards, on the representation of Russia, Austria sent him into exile. But he had already consecrated several bishops. His coadjutor, Cyril, succeeded him, and the others divided Russia up into schismatic dioceses. However, the Council of Old Believers at Ragojski got on but ill with a foreign hierarchy, and several bishops who had been taken from the Russian tradesmen had not the acquaintance with divine things possessed by a deacon. Each new authority threatened to become the centre of a new schism. There were *Raskols* from the *Raskol*. The *Starovéry* had been too much accustomed to get along without a hierarchy to receive one without peril after two hundred years.

Are you not struck in all these occurrences with one terrible contradiction? The *Raskol* attracts the least profligate, the least intemperate, the most vigorous characters, those who pride themselves on being the best Russians, the flower of their race; but it makes their good qualities unfruitful for want of organization. Confronting it the Church remains the Church, but is charged, since the suppression of the patriarchate, with being in bondage, and as it can only assert its authority by acts of persecution, it begins to doubt its own powers. On the one side, the *Raskol* has the fine part of the protest for Christian virtues against Western vices; on the other side it

has the false position of right which is in hiding, and of obstinacy which is tolerated by its foe. The *Raskol* is such an exaggeration of Orthodoxy as to verge on being a denial of Orthodoxy ; it has every desire for perfection, but in the conditions of apostacy. The *Raskol* and the Church were a cause of weakness to each other through the misunderstanding of their respective good qualities. It was a great misfortune for Russia.

The evil was worse still with the *Bezpapovtsy*.

(2) At the outset the *Papovtsy* believed the Church would be converted: since the schism began the *Bezpapovtsy* have been convinced that Antichrist has come. This hope and despair are equally characteristic of Russia. Peter the Great is Antichrist : he sets his mark on all the features of the Church, the Sacraments are mockeries, the priests are wolves, since Nikon's day the virtue of laying on of hands has flown back to the skies. The *Raskolniki* in their pictures represent the Tsar as guided by the devil, and the Church as "the woman in scarlet." But this time of waiting cannot be long. Christ must soon come. Till than the best Christians are those who are no longer Christians.

This radicalism is natural in those Southern regions where the *Bezpapovtsy* grow in secret. But the causes are of less importance than the consequence. Take the first. It has no hierarchy, and its congregations are still less combined with each other than are those of the *Papovtsy* : e.g., at the end of the seventeenth century the brothers Denissof, of princely race, founded by the shores of the White Sea the sect of *Pamortsy*. The deacon Theodosius, of the boyard Ouroussof family, deserted them to found a similar sect in the neighbourhood of Novgorod (1684–1685). To restore unity, Theodosius went twice to find the brothers

WINTER.

Denissof at the monastery of Vek, but without any result from their discussions. In his turn André Denissof sent two messages, which only received this answer, "Begin by publicly recanting your mistakes." Then when the Theodosians learnt that the *Pamortsy* had agreed to pray for the Tsar, they said to them, "No communion for you with us, in this world or the next!" There matters rested. But when Theodosius was dead in prison (1711), André Denissof tried to be reconciled to his son Eustathius, who had accompanied his followers in Livonia. This time there was a schism amongst the Theodosians. Many remained faithful to their founder. Others went over to the *Pamortsy*. A few, wearied of the strife, and Eustathius with them, simply returned to the Orthodox Church.

It is true that these very Theodosians were soon to cause a unity of some sort amongst the *Bezpapovtsy*. During the plague of 1771, one of them, a Moscow merchant named Elias Alexandrovitch Kovyline, obtained from Catherine the Second permission to found a hospital. He received so many contributions that the hundred horses of his brickyard were not sufficient to move them. The plague over, the hospital was increased by two churches and a monastery. This was the beginning of the establishment of Preobrajenski. Kovyline was its *hegumen* for thirty-eight years. His aim was the union of the Theodosians and *Pamortsy*. He sent them from Moscow leaders, books, supplies. His kindness and high rank made them tolerate him as a general benefactor. He was a kind of patriarch amongst the *Bezpapovtsy*. He died in 1809. But centralization, resting on personal influence and supplies of money, could not last. Nicholas brought it to ruin by an ukase in 1853.

Till then the *Bezpapovchchina* was hardly less united

than the *Papovchchina.* But it had worse features. The want of Sacraments caused the ruin of its communities at the only point where religious and civil life unite. There remained, it is true, Baptism, which every man, and even every woman, can administer: but one can only be baptized once. The Liturgy, without an altar, is a mere profitless drone. Confession, made it matters not to whom, ends with this prayer, "May Christ pardon thee; I cannot." Marriage, as is the way in schisms, has passed through three inevitable phases: in the first the blessing of the parents is required, in the next they are satisfied with mutual consent, in the last through deeming that angelic chastity is the ideal, men prefer occasional sins to that perpetual debauch which a sacrament would countenance. Every characteristic of Russia is there manifest: pessimism, which is certain the world is lost; heroism, remaining faithful to rites which it knows to be empty; the demand for absolute purity and the immediate fall into every lust; in every direction, excess;—the aim, Christ; the achievement, license. The *Bezpapovchchina* thus produced the wildest sects. I will instance two of them.

The *Errants* appeared on several occasions on the river banks and in the forests of the North. The most radical were the disciples of a Strelitz deserter, Euphemius, who baptized himself over again with rain-water, to preserve his Christianity from any indebtedness to the world of Antichrist. Since Antichrist is everywhere, even in the carriage roads, even in the fields tilled by men, and as the struggle against the Tsar and the Church could not be prolonged, there came to be only one duty—flight—flight from taxes, flight from military service, abandonment of all but one's name. Yes! they began by tearing

their passports to pieces as soon as they had given their money for them, because the George and Dragon delineated there are the seal of Antichrist. They have to be baptized again on admission to this sect, in which the only permanent element is the "receivers," who hide the Errants at long intervals, and who when they feel themselves dying have themselves carried out of the houses into the air. Scant obedience is paid to those who are chosen to preside at ceremonies or administer justice. In their forest life all are equal, theft is practised, and love is free, although the names used are "brother and sister." In a word, there is no morality, for the Errants are the just, and S. Paul wrote that the law was not written for the just (1 *Tim.* i. 9). All the *Bezpapovtsy* reject the Church; the Errants reject all society. They relapse into savage bestiality.

Some go to the length of self-destruction. Jesus said, "He who hates his life in this world saves it for the life eternal," and thereby suggested voluntary death, according to the explanation given by the Protopope Avvakoum, who was one of the first apostles of the *Raskol* and died a martyr in 1681. However, suicide did not need to be encouraged doctrinally. It grew of its own accord out of despair at the sovereignty of evil. Sometimes people starved themselves to death; others were buried alive; some went to the woods, fastened themselves to trees with chains, locked the chains with a padlock, and flung the key far away. But the best way of dying was to be burnt to death. The baptism of fire was the most august sacrament. What had any one to lose? The end of the world was near, and once in the flames the feeling was delightful. "Between 1675 and 1691 there were more than thirty-seven instances of suicide by fire, and the total number of victims

exceeded 20,000. There were sometimes more than 2,500 victims burnt together."

M. Ivan Schtchoukine, in *Collective Suicide in the Russian Raskol*, gives a graphic description of what took place. A preacher travels over a large area, reading wherever he goes the letters of Avvakoum. Then he settles in a forest, and round his shanty gathers a whole colony of "disciples of death." "The old man teaches them, exhausts them by fasting, gives them penances, hears their confessions, administers the communion, and prepares them for death. This kind of life lasts for more than six months. Men and women live together, and, in spite of the formidable preparations, are assailed by carnal desires. More than once persons have desired to get burnt to death, but courage fails them and they take themselves away without having accomplished their awful task. The sermons of the preacher become more and more exciting, more and more urgent; then disturbing rumours begin to circulate, 'the Government has heard of the exodus of all these people, and troops are being sent to arrest the whole body.' They are obliged to make haste and fix on the grave, i.e., either an *izba* of sufficient size or a space, more or less large, enclosed by a high palisade; in it are piled inflammable materials, straw, shavings, powder, pitch, and the whole is covered with straw. At last the decision to die is made; within the prepared enclosure or 'grave' the throng is gathered, every one holding a lighted taper, to advance with due dignity to meet death and the heavenly Bridegroom. All the openings are closely and carefully barricaded to prevent any one from escaping at the last moment from the fire. The impression given by the ceremony should have been that of 'martyrs burning to death with joy,

coming as cheerfully to death as to dinner.' But very often there was fraud and violence: young men would get rid of their wives by this means in order to marry again. One man dragged his wife by force to be burned with him, but she ran away and her husband escaped after her. A spectator once saw the following occurrence. 'The funeral pile was blazing in an enclosure, the *auto-da-fè* was frightful. An old man already scorched by the flames leapt to the palisade to climb over it, but his own sons chopped off his hands with hatchets and the poor man fell back into the furnace.' In other cases it is the father who prevents his child from getting away; a boy ten years of age calls for his mother; his mother had succeeded in escaping from the grave, he wants to follow her; 'father, let me go, I do not want to be burned'; and the child would have been saved if his father had not kept him back by force. Another time a pregnant woman had come to watch one of these sights; seized with terror she brought forth her child, a sacristan who was also there as a spectator lost no time over throwing the mother on to the blaze first, then seizing the child he baptized it and sent it to join its mother again in the flames" (pp. 106–111).

These incidents took place two hundred years ago. Since then the fever has subsided, but it has not altogether died out. During the nineteenth century there are twenty instances to be counted. The last suicide by fire was in 1860; fifteen Old Believers burnt themselves to death in the Government of Olonets. The last collective suicide took place at the end of 1896 and beginning of 1897; in a farm on the estuary of the Dneister twenty-four *Bezpapovtsy* had themselves buried alive.

There is enough evidence for us to draw our conclusion. The *Raskol*, pushed to its own extremes, is peculiarly and fundamentally destructive.

If the *Raskol* is only a degenerate type of Orthodoxy, are there not some seeds of healthy religious life in one or other of the countless sects which do not spring out of the *Raskol*, sects which sometimes are due to foreign influences, at others seem entirely independent? Experience answers affirmatively. You shall form your own opinion.

The Sects

The Russian sects are generally divided into *mystic* and *rationalist*. Both names are unsatisfactory, for in their usual meaning every Russian is a mystic and no Russian is a rationalist. All they signify is that some sects lay greater stress on mysterious exercises which turn a man into an inspired prophet, and that others make their way to religious exercises by passing through a phase of free thought which is often in other respects altogether irrational.

One word must be said about a specimen of each type, for their varieties are past reckoning, and I could not pretend to deal with them all.

1. As a specimen mystical sect let us take the *Men of God*, or *Khlisty*. There has just been published in France an exhaustive account of them by M. J. B. Severne entitled *The Russian Sect of Men of God*. These "Men of God" originated about the middle of the seventeenth century amongst the peasantry, and since then have always been recruited from that class.

Its method of worship is the best gauge of the

character of a sect of this kind. The members usually meet at night in rooms which are well lit. Men and women, clothed in long white robes, take their seats on benches placed round the walls, and begin singing psalms. Some of them soon get up and begin spinning themselves round very quickly, always in the same direction. This movement becomes general. The speed gets greater and greater. From time to time a scream is heard. Occasionally they scourge themselves. "At our gatherings," said a Man of God, "with the singing, the heat, the smell, in which you are, so to speak, bathed, you become literally intoxicated, your face burns with fever, you feel as if a fire were devouring your hands and heart." No obstacle such as bad weather, danger, or distance, is allowed by the votaries to interfere with their renewal of these emotions. They are lifted out of earth and its fetters, and speak of their condition as "fervour." Some go still further. The Holy Spirit comes down upon them. They prophesy. Inarticulate sounds, the notification of what is to come to pass, but especially moral teaching, are the aims of their assemblage. The faithful listen in transports. Afterwards they will fall asleep from exhaustion on the floor which is soaked with their perspiration.

Upon their worship is imprinted their faith. There is no gulf between man and God. God continues His revelation by enlightening an unbroken series of prophets. He even becomes incarnate in some of His elect. By God is meant the Son, the Being of Love, for little is said of the Father, the Being of Power. Thus He was incarnate for the first time in Jesus, a second time in the seventeenth century in Ivan Souslof, one of the founders of the sect, and has been incarnate also in our own day. We rub shoulders with Christs, and are perhaps

called to become a Christ ourselves. Side by side with the Christs live incarnations of the Virgin, the angels, the saints. The whole company of heaven is to be met with in the flesh on earth.

In order to fit themselves for this heavenly intercourse, and become more receptive of this entrancing "fervour," the Men of God impose on themselves a rigid purity. They teach that you must not drink alcohol, nor eat meat, you must fast to the limit of your strength, you must never take part in common holidays, above all you must keep the strictest chastity, either not marrying, or if you are married living with your wife as if she were a sister, for "women are the cause amongst men of a weakness which eats away all the virtues and separates the soul from God." When you have carried out these injunctions fully, you must further maintain strict silence about your tenets on account of the police.

Each group, each "crew," is under the rule of two "pilots," one a man, the other a woman; the man is a Christ, or, if he is not a Christ, a prophet; the woman is either a Madonna or a prophetess. In the absence, at least in theory, of marriage, and even of sex, the "crew" is composed of souls which are absolutely equal, and united by the superhuman authority of the pilot; it is impossible to achieve a more definite organization in the few hours of religious excitement which are the main object of the *klisty*. In the village the union is still more slack; it is like that of some associations of *Bezpapovtsy*. But outside the village it disappears altogether. Since the Men of God communicate with God without intermediaries what need have they for communications with each other? Each "crew" is self-contained, each pilot is independent of all others. The sect is not a Church, but a few chapels. How-

A Woman of Little Russia.

ever it might interest a student of psychology, it has no existence for the statesman.

Beyond question the Men of God are Russians by their religiosity, which goes into transports of ecstasy, their absolutism, which looks for Christ in individuals, their excessive asceticism, their weaknesses, naturally, and their demand for equality. They are, however, too much out of the public knowledge for there not to be some exceptions. They seem to me less interesting than the *Doukhabory*. The *Doukhabory* are reckoned amongst the rationalists. However scanty their success, it might make you suppose that Russia is less religious than we have shown. People get to think that the advance of education will bring about the total destruction of faith. But in spite of words the thought of the *Doukhabory* is much nearer to Russian mysticism than to Latin rationalism.

2. As our specimen, then, of the rationalist sects, so-called, we take the *Doukhabory*.

The *Doukhabory*, who came into existence in the eighteenth century, in the neighbourhood of Kharkov, were gathered together in villages and kept apart from the Orthodox by the Government, which feared the infection of their doctrines; they have accordingly made their way to the Crimea, the Caucasus, Siberia and Canada, and are to-day sufficiently prosperous, if not in their own persons, yet in those of the dissenters from them called the *Malakany*.

The *Doukhabory* think that God is Spirit, and wishes, in consequence, to be worshipped in spirit. They have no ikons—an ikon is a mere piece of wood. They have no churches—the true temples of God are ourselves. They never make the sign of the Cross—it is a meaningless gesture. They have no Sacraments either; they have no nourish-

ment from God, except through pious colloquy, and are satisfied with their parents' blessing for the solemnization of wedlock. By continual self-introspection many of them have come to think that Divinity has no existence except in our thoughts about it, and they pay one another, as if they were all tabernacles of Godhead, a respect which approaches worship. But these flights of doctrine do not impair the robustness of their moral code.

In complete contrast with the intellectual Westerns, who only believe themselves divine as an excuse for evading duty, the *Doukhabory* derive great moral earnestness from their belief in being made divine. One of them said to a traveller who was visiting the settlement in Canada, "It is written in the Gospel that man was made in God's image. If that be true, I am God. Everything in me which tingles with life is God. How can I venture to sin?" (*The Doukhabory of Canada*, p. 55.)

As a matter of fact, they commit no sins. Their asceticism is vigorous and reasonable. Married men look for the birth of a child that they may become chaste again, and although the young people can get betrothed and separated again at caprice, there are very few divorces. Naturally they never smoke nor drink, nor do they ever taste meat or milk, and that for reasons which would seem ridiculous if they were not inherent in a system which Russians could never adopt half-heartedly. The same *moujik* would say, "Eating meat is brigandage, and drinking milk is theft. A baby calf is like a human baby. What would you say if some one took from your wife the milk meant for her child?" (*The Doukhabory of Canada*, p. 52.) As they sow their fields

they pray, "Make it grow, O Lord, for every living creature, for beast and for bird; make it grow for the beggar, he can ask for it; make it grow for the thief, if he wishes to steal it; give even to him his share." (*The Doukhabory of Canada*, p. 54.) In such ways they display unbounded sympathy with all forms of life, and this sympathy is accompanied by extreme gentleness. They never make any resistance to foreigners, who do not always treat them in brotherly style, or to laws which they feel outrageous, but only to military service. During the first war against the Turks, a whole battalion, composed of *Doukhabory*, flung down its arms. One night recently, in the Caucasus, they made a regular bonfire of the most inoffensive weapons.

How do they keep up this moral standard with so few rites and so little dogma? There is not a Latin country in which "the simple Gospel" could be put into practice; we know that by experience. But we know also, by experience, that the Gospel, and the Gospel in its extremest simplicity, is practised among such communal people as the Russians. Now the *Doukhabory* are more communal even than the rest of the Russians. This feature in their character is specially noticeable in the Caucasus; they have carried equality to absurd lengths, old people showing children the same respect as children show to the aged, women having the same rights as men in their associations, and all addressing each other by their Christian name. When they got to Canada they put into the common stock land, money, flocks, crops, achieving a communism which no *moujik* had ever aimed at, and they achieved it with the utmost devotion, for when the men came to hand over to the head of the community the

money earned from the neighbouring proprietors their faces shone as if they were carrying a gift to the altar. Thus their social condition was midway between that of the Russian husbandmen and the Asiatic shepherds. But with these Russians society, in spite of its being settled, is wanting in class distinctions; religion has just as much influence as if there were no haziness in its creeds and services. It is much the same with the *Doukhabory*. It cannot be said that they listen to reason. They follow an inorganic Gospel. They are wanting, not so much in the religious life as in the functions of religion. They are a kind of pre-Christians.

Consequently you must expect to find amongst them clear signs of "the foolishness of the Cross." Such charity and detachment from earthly concerns are not suited to this world. After some years of residence in Canada, they had saved enough money to found a prosperous agricultural settlement, to which the only thing wanting was the *agourtsy* of their native country. But a day came when difficulties arose with the English authorities. Their minds were at once made up. They would go wherever God led them, to preach the Gospel and liberty. Many hesitated. A woman was paring potatoes when she heard voices which determined her. Some old men would have themselves carried. Out of seven thousand, seventeen hundred resolved to move away. Before starting they mustered their cows and horses, thanked them for their services, saluted them and sent them away free into the forest. Then they started, with the Cross borne at their head. On the road they discovered that the Gospel gave them no injunction to be encumbered with clothes, and they flung their furs away.

It was an exodus at once splendid and pathetic. In each village which they came to they preached. "Why do you preach?" one of their old men was asked. He answered, "This is my reason. If I were to die this moment the Lord would at once ask me, 'Do you know the law of God?' I should say, 'A little; I did learn it.' God would ask, 'And what is the law?' I should answer, 'Drink no wine, smoke no tobacco, never kill anything, be loving to each other.' God will say, 'And why did you never tell your brethen that?' And I shall have to say, 'I joined the march, I did preach on the way.' God will ask, 'And why did they not listen?' And I shall say, 'How can I know?' Then I shall be justified." (*The Doukhabory of Canada*, p. 73.) The preachers did not always receive the brotherly help which they had given. Once they went for five days and five nights without food. Then winter drew on. They were overcome by cold and hunger. At last, without their having wavered from their purpose, the Government sent after them waggons loaded with provisions, which were distributed to them in the villages. It had caught and sold for their benefit the cattle which they had abandoned. When they got to the nearest railway station they were persuaded to go to bed in different houses, so that they might be the more easily accommodated; and without any great resistance—their religion precluded that—they were put in cars and brought back to their old villages. They had walked three hundred miles to satisfy their souls. Be candid, and say whether they are more like Western rationalists than Russian mystics.

Of this adventure I must again recall one detail. At the start the preachers got into trouble with

the authorities. This was an occurrence which was by no means without parallels.

Orestes Novitskii, the earliest writer about the *Doukhabory*, tells us "The *Doukhabory* of Tambof have ventured on the distinction between good and bad powers, and traced their respective sources; they assert that the good come from God, the evil from—they know not where. The *Doukhabory* of Melitopolsk do not argue about the source of power, but agree in the contention that there is no need of any power on earth; power is only required for thieves, brigands and the like." (*O Doukhabortsakh*, p. 65.)

But the circumstances of their quarrel with the Canadian Government are of the strangest character. It was on three grounds. First, the *Doukhabory* refused to accept land for private ownership; they would only recognize collective property, as it alone was agreeable to the law of God, and did not, like private ownership, lead to inequalities and wars. In the second place, they refused to have their marriages registered, for the law of God enjoins the freest choice in such unions. Lastly, they would not agree to give notice of their deaths and births, for fear of insulting that heavenly Father Who knows what souls He sends into, and calls back from, the world. To a friend who urged them to give way, they gave this explanation of their position in regard to the last point: (*Tolstoi and the Doukhabory*, p. 241), "We are, however, ready to give for statistical purposes the information asked from us. . . . But we are convinced that it is quite another thing which is really required; under pretence of compiling statistics we are to be made, of our own accord, to enrol ourselves and our families on the books of the Government, and thus to acknowledge the authority of human laws, and

to submit to them our will and conscience. And this is just what we could not endure." Clearly these men are before all else anarchists.

The fact that their commune is complete in itself, like the pastoral communes, prevents them from understanding the need of a State, and therein, again, they resemble the pastoral societies. The more united each group is, the less it will have of links with other groups. The links are religious as well as political, for the communal brotherhood is the cause and almost the whole expression of its Christianity. It has been kept up until now, because until now the *Doukhabory* have been continually persecuted or exiled. As soon as these conditions cease their characters deteriorate. Thus, the sect was in peril of disappearing whenever it tried to enlarge itself. It is Christianity in the exact social framework into which no State or diocese could fit. The *Doukhabory* only have a religion in so far as they are not a Church.

Thus, I do not find either amongst the Men of God or amongst the *Doukhabory* the seed of an organized Christianity, neither have I found such a seed amongst the other mystical or rationalist sects. But the proof of this would be tedious; you should consult the third volume of Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, or still trust to my good faith, since these words about the schismatics are only a digression to illustrate Orthodoxy.

However, before concluding with the dissenters I wish, to combine, for the moment, the *Raskol* and the sects, and to summarize what I have said about them. Only the order will be different. Instead of following the course of history I shall have regard to psychology; instead of copying the index of a classical handbook, I shall follow the scheme of my

letter on the Russian spirit. This will give me the opportunity of stopping up some gaps, and, better still, of further elucidating the parallel between religion and society.

The Schismatic Spirit and the Russian Spirit

My purpose, then, is to open the rough draft of my second letter, to copy out the headings of the chief sections, and to note, opposite them, the corresponding facts furnished by the schismatics. For the greater part of the time they will confirm what we know of the Russian character, the exceptions will be the more instructive in proportion to their fewness. Do not expect the style of a lecture, but rather that of a diagram.

1. Moral qualities.

(*a*) The Russian peasant is generally a fatalist. So is the schismatic: thus the *Raskolniki*, and especially the *Bezpapovtsy*, resigned themselves to spending the times of Antichrist almost without any religious life.

(*b*) The Russian peasant is as a rule heroically passive. So is the schismatic; in schism one finds martyrs such as the voluntary suicides, and in a less degree the voluntarily speechless, who let themselves rather condemn than disclose their creed.

(*c*) The Russian peasant is the slave of routine, lazy, and improvident. Routine is the essence even of the *Raskol*. It is their cardinal feature. Further, amongst the dissenters the vagabonds live on charity and theft, and the *Messalinié* put themselves to sleep that in their dreams they may receive the Holy Spirit. In the same way the first *Papovtsy* never

thought of securing the continuance of their priesthood, and the disciples of a certain Basil the Long-haired faced death from starvation after gorging themselves from the slaughter of all their live-stock and poultry. The Mutilated alone have an eye to the future, because the only thing they can love is money: they are resorted to in the same manner as bankers.

(*d*) The Russian peasant has some primitive vices —gluttony or lust. In this point the schismatics differ from them, at least in theory. It is the great excellence of most of them to be accustomed to frequent fasting, complete abstinence from alcoholic drinks, and to abjure tobacco. The majority of them also advocate continence. But the rebellions of the flesh are terrible. Even the *Papovtsy*, such as Job at the end of the seventeenth century, consent to polygamy. Almost all the *Bezpapovtsy*, the Theodosians in particular, acquiesce in "free love." A Theodosian, Theodore Ivanof Alexieef, harmonized the teaching of his sect with the general tradition by sanctioning marriage on condition that couples separated in old age, in order to die as good members of their sect.

(*e*) The Russian is particularly charitable. This characteristic virtue suffers no change outside the area of Orthodoxy. At one time a *Kovyline* wins the admiration of the Church during a plague. At another some *Doukhabory* boast of never having had any beggars in their number. But the most popular illustrations are those drawn from the life of Soutaief, the *moujik* who impressed L. Tolstoi so deeply; he could not, when his farm had been robbed one day, persuade himself that he was a true Christian till he had gone to the thieves, who were obviously very poor, and carried them a money-bag which they had forgotten.

2. Intellectual qualities.

(*a*) Metaphysical thought and finalist thought. The abuse of philosophical discussion led to the first troubles with the *Raskol*, and served as the pretext for the creation of most of the sects.

(*b*) Contempt for clear ideas. The vagueness of belief amongst the mystic, and even amongst the rationalist sects, e.g., the notion of God amongst the *Doukhabory* and the *Khlisty*. The vagueness of use in regard to the Sacraments amongst the *Papovtsy*, e.g., at Staradoubié, in the middle of the eighteenth century, there were no priests, and it seemed as if there would soon be nothing left of the Sacrament which had been reserved; the remnant of it was therefore powdered and mixed up in a new loaf, which was held to be consecrated because of what had been put in it; at Moscow at the end of the eighteenth century it was decided that the Orthodox priests who came over to the *Raskol* must be anointed again, but as there were no bishops to consecrate *myr*, a substitute for it was found in ordinary oil put into a phial which had once contained consecrated oil.

(*c*) Concern for the absolute. The "all or nothing" which is so pronounced in the life of the *Bezpapovchchina*, e.g., the Theodosians purify victuals bought from the Orthodox by making a hundred prostrations, and by cooking them on special dishes in a special oven. The *Doukhabory* will not kill the smallest animal, for men began by crushing a serpent, and ended in making war. The *Khlisty* wish, in their fervour, actually to attain to God.

(*d*) Influence of ideas. The *Raskolniki* go to prison rather than trim their beards, for it is written that man's appearance is made in the image of God. Others murder their children either because they find them too clever not to become vicious, or merely to

copy Abraham. The *Skoptsy* mutilate themselves, convinced that none but a literal interpretation is possible of injunctions like "If thy right eye offend thee."

(*e*) Mysticism. Amongst the Old Believers there is universal expectation of the end of the world. Amongst the rationalist sects you have the exodus of the *Doukhabory* in Canada. In the mystical sects, in a sense there is nothing but mysticism.

3. Want of steadiness or balance.

In every Russian can be observed at one and the same time the spirit of submission and the spirit of revolt. This feature is to be observed in an exaggerated form in each of the dissenters who are grouped in isolated communities, it is specially prominent in the Old Believers, and in almost all the sects properly so called. In particular one notices amongst them, more even than among the Orthodox, a craving for equality which verges on identity (e.g., in the Men of God and *Doukhabory*), and a craving for liberty which verges on license (in the Errants and Suicides). And it is, of course, this perfection in theory, coupled with frailty in conduct, which is the fundamental contradiction of the *Raskol.*

Let us again sum up this summary, and especially let us draw some conclusions from it.

A. *The characteristics of the Orthodox are discovered amongst the dissenters.* Even if some sects have drawn their inspiration from foreign Protestantism, they have arranged their doctrines in the Russian fashion. The only exception is with the Mutilated, who become the most avaricious of mankind; but this feature of theirs is due to their physical constitution, not to their land of birth.

B. *Russian conservatism has only been exaggerated in the Raskol.* In reality their conservatism is another

species of absolutism, and it is this absolutism which produces their worst vagaries. Conservative *Papovtsy* develop naturally into revolutionary *Bezpapovtsy*.

C. *Thus anarchy is the distinctive feature of the Raskolniki and the dissenters.* This is the essential point. In every Russian there are two distinct beings, one communal, the other individualist. It is the communal being who adapts himself to Orthodoxy, and the individualist who gets satisfaction through the schisms. The Russian longs for schism as he longs for independence, neither more nor less. Orthodoxy, then, is not *more* Russian than schism, it is *better* Russian. The struggle from a political point of view has been to establish a settled Government in the anarchy which pervades the whole land. The struggle from an ecclesiastical point of view has been to set up the Church amid an equally pervading schism. The dissenters, then, represent, at the most, a bad past. Orthodoxy is the better present.

Now that we have come to the end of this sketch, we can call back to mind the points with which we started.

Certain principles of Frederic Le Play and Henri de Tourville made it possible for one to study Russian Christianity from the point of view of society. I have attempted to make such a study, not always keeping scrupulously to my scheme, nor always going to the very heart of my subject, like a schoolboy. I am, therefore, obliged to explain to you what I wanted to compass.

My aim has been first to discover the precise influence exerted in Russia by secular upon religious society. It is great, and Christianity has been distinctly affected by it. But the repeated pressure of Muscovite life upon the Orthodox Faith could not make one believe that the Orthodox Faith is com-

pletely explained by the Muscovite life. There is a leaven in Christianity which does not originate in its own surroundings. This leaven is shown first in that zeal for the Gospel which drives one man to the desert, another to martyrdom, a third to supernatural achievements, and of which the constant feature in all manifestations is an inexplicable originality. But, above all, the great fact of Christianity superseding paganism at one stroke, lasting on without the assistance of organization, resisting the thraldom imposed by the Tartar Khans and by some of the Emperors, triumphing over the interior perils of ignorance and coarseness, and ending up at the present time with a passion for reforms which is perhaps utterly confused, but perhaps also more effective than any such passions yet known—this great fact shows that in Christianity there is an independent life which no social conditions can explain, since the social conditions need the help of Christianity for their own self-realization. There is thus no misunderstanding one about the meaning of this Christian sociology. Society is necessary for religion to have a definite form, if we understand by religion a power which is in want of nothing but a sphere of operations. Toil gives it form, but does not create its strength. The soil supplies its conditions, it does not obtrude reasons. This social science is not a kind of mathematics in which the higher conditions are inferred from those lower, to the point where only the lower condition exists, and of the first condition of all there is only the faintest vestige; it is a determinist science which investigates the contact between two elements, (1) an indeterminate spontaneity which it admits without philosophizing about it, and (2) physical rigidities by whose aggregate the indeterminate is determined.

Hitherto our study has been objective. We must, however, come to a decision. This shall be the subject of the next letter. If an excuse is needed for making science the starting-point for practical advice, we shall find one in the two cities in which we are residing; Moscow and Oxford have the same enthusiasm for what concerns religion, and that is more and more a link between us both to-day.

LETTER VII

THE FUTURE OF ORTHODOXY

DEAREST FRIEND,

My former letters have been written rather for the benefit of other persons, but this is really for yourself. For other persons I have laid stress on the geographical and historical conditions; but you know that they only explain half of the soul of a people, the other half depends on the purpose for which God ordains it. Let us look, therefore, for the vocation of Russia.

I must warn you at once where I want to take you. I shall first show that the vocation of Russia is not independent of the vocations of other nations; then, that the destiny of the State is one with that of its Church; as well as that the Russian Church ought to be united with the rest of Christendom. Next, we shall inquire into the conditions of this union. To prove its necessity, as well as to outline its programme, we shall make use of all the positive statements in the letters we have exchanged, in order that our dream, if it is a dream, may at least proceed from certainties.

THE NECESSITY OF UNION

There will be no difficulty about your conceding to me the principle of my two first postulates. The

rôle of Russia is not to be isolated, for egoism is no more permitted to nations than to individuals, and its external influence cannot tend to merely material conquest, for that would only be another form of egoism. The true missions of States are their religious missions, and the true religion is universal. I shall not waste time on emphasizing this. Let us agree unhesitatingly to the thought placed by Vladimir Solovief at the outset of *The Idea of Russia*: "In accepting the essential and real idea of the human race—and it is quite necessary that we should accept it since it is a religious truth justified by rational philosophy and confirmed by exact science—in accepting this substantial unity we must consider the whole of humanity as one great collective entity, or a social organism of which the different nations represent the living members. It is evident from this point of view that no nation can live in itself, by itself, and for itself, but that the life of each one is only a fixed share in the general life of humanity. The organic function which a nation must discharge in this universal life, that is its true national idea, fixed in the eternal plan of God."

Difficulty begins when we try to determine the function of each people.

If we content ourselves with a very rough ethnography, we recognize that the Italian State, like the Roman Church, has the genius of Government. We should agree that the English nation, like the English Church, has the genius of initiative. We should next urge that France, geographically an isthmus, with changeable climate, average soil, and population of mixed descent, sharing the genius of Italy and the genius of England, gains from this absence of definite character two things: first, an absorbing love for ideas—in philosophy as in science, in

theology as in exegesis, it is ahead now of Germany whatever any one may say—it is always the Sorbonne of the world; and next, a great ability for apostleship—it is the source, to quote first secular illustrations, of all the wars of Revolution, and Newman said to Lord Halifax, "If you wish to do anything for the unity of the Church, address yourself to France."

And Russia? Think a moment, while you look for the will of God in all that has hitherto been said about her. God has given her a poor soil, a soil so poor that one can only live in the expectation of a kingdom which is not of this world; some Russians who have emigrated to Canada have called one of their villages Célo Tirpénié, i.e., the village of patience; for all the Russians the whole of Russia is a Célo Tirpénié. In this resignation God has made them live in such close family union that neighbours are obliged to love one another; the communes have had to discuss at their sessions so few matters of interest or problems of reason that they do not understand any other links than those of charity; and thus the Russians were pre-eminently disposed to receive the Gospel and build up the Church. That they might better "keep the deposit" God has made them so conservative as to be all but mechanical; their hours are shorter than our hours; they abridge the centuries which have passed away since Christ; they make the times of the Apostles nearer to us. To prevent any foreign influence marring the purity of their Faith God has scattered them over an immense country fenced round by the steppes of the south, the forests of the north, and the bogs of the west. To add to their isolation they have, for more than two centuries of Tartar oppression, been turned towards Asia, more

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THE CATHEDRAL OF S. VLADIMIR, KIEV.

immovable still, and since that oppression, the race has retained such feelings as to be closed of its own accord to Europe. Lastly, for a final precaution, He had not willed that this people should be warriors, in order that there should be no danger of their being spoilt by conquest; it has been through disasters that Russia secured its unity and grandeur, and both have thus been made of that which is the most Christian in man, endurance and kindness. A land where men never settle, charity which takes the lead in all things, respect for the past, the natural solitude of its extent and the artificial solitude of its history, all converge to the same point. So much preparation is not the offspring of chance. Russia is a personal work of God. His providence has willed to make it one of the lands privileged with the Eight Beatitudes.

Thus the purpose of Catholicity is made clear. Each people, in its sphere, must practise Christianity in its completeness, but it must, in addition, specialize for the benefit of the others in the virtue which suits best with its temperament; and to recur to the simple distinction made just now, Italy will always be the minister, England the pioneer, France the teacher, Russia the witness.

But the more they specialize the more ought they to live in harmony.

1. The unity of all Christians is a good, even from the temporal point of view. In contrast with the pattern set in England the Latins risk exaggerating central government to the point of despotism, as in contrast with the pattern of the Latins England risks exaggerating independent action to the destruction of authority. Taken by themselves each people exaggerates its qualities till they become defects. It is as much a vice as the over-development of a

virtue. Would one try to remedy it by intercourse on any terms? Only as schism prevents speaking of fundamental questions, one is limited to exchanging novels and trinkets. It is thus that the Russians have only taken from the French the theories of their revolutionaries, and that the French have only received from the Russians the demoralization of their higher classes. "Familiarity breeds contempt," and the beauties of a different creed are snares which one must hide. Some persons have grasped this so well that in trying to complete their own system they have arrived, of their own accord, at that of their neighbours, in such a way as to give the impression of having studied them with a view to bringing back in secret models of which the source is disavowed. Thus, a good few of the Catholics of France constrain themselves to combine with their faith English individualism—read the letters of Henri de Tourville; and many of the English sects, through the need of being incorporated in larger unities, approach unconsciously to Rome—read their writings again yourself.

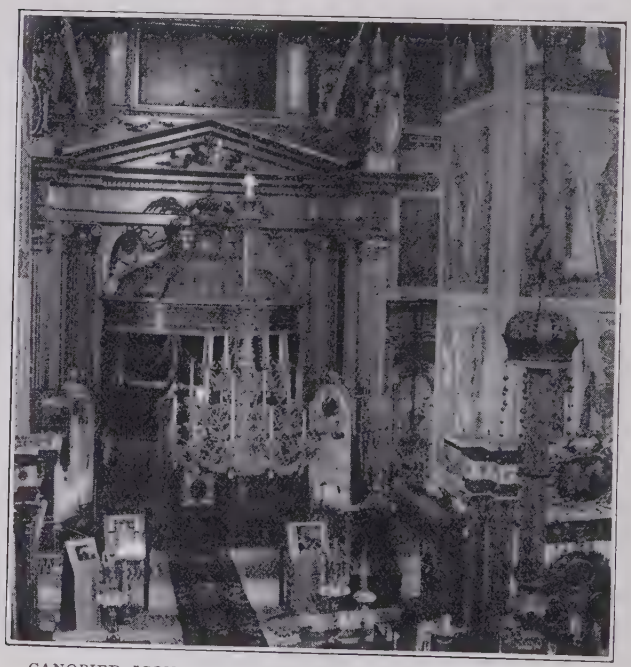
2. The unity of all Christians is, in the second place, inevitable. More than ever are frontiers being opened. On the one hand, literature, philosophy, art, diffuse themselves; on the other, the relations of industry and trade make the conditions of life similar to each other in all parts of the world. All ideas are flung into the crucible, and all nations are interested in the issue. While Westerns, tired of rationalism, seek for the light in the works of M. Bergson or M. James, here (in Russia) similar brightness is found in Khomiakov. While Westerns, cheated with atheism, dream of society in which religion will only be a survival, here they become aware that Russian society is in a peculiar way

founded on Christianity. In this revolution all the inventors and all the teachers are united to work out the world of to-morrow. Are the clergy to be alone in not speaking? Secular internationalism is vain if it fancies that it can supplant religious Catholicism: it expects to do so, as it announces it. Congresses have no value except as preparing for Councils.

3. The unity of all Christians is, in the last place, a commandment. Our Lord said in His priestly prayer, "It is not for these only that I pray, but also for them who shall believe on Me through Thy Word, that they may all be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." If any one does not believe that a day will come when there will be only one flock and one Shepherd, he may be a Christian, he certainly is not a Catholic.

When one passes from the general position to the particular illustrations, Russia is exactly one of its best proofs. Her history, which is the record of an isolation, will only have meaning when it ends in a union. Thanks to its distance, the Orthodox Church has kept safe until now the Christianity of a hundred millions of Russians, and since Russia has a constitution similar and superior to that of all the East, she can further assure the Christianity of a hundred millions of Asiatics. However, that is not enough. Pan-Slavism or Pan-Orientalism are terms unsuitable for use—more than unsuitable, impossible! The attempt would fail at once. For Russia is being, and will be, more and more thrown open to the world. Thus, God will only have cut it off from the world for ten centuries in order to make it wide open to the world for the eleventh. His providence lay in abeyance before the development of railways. It

seems, then, that the solitude of Russia has only served to fix more firmly in her the qualities which were intended to shine out later. Paying due regard to all essential differences, it is the history of a Jewish people which has lived alone until it has thoroughly



CANOPIED ICONOSTASIS IN THE CATHEDRAL, ARCHANGEL.

grasped the idea of a Messiah, in order to go after the time of captivity and found in all the civilized universe synagogues which became the natural places for the preaching of the Apostles. Russia will receive to-day from Italy, England, France, lessons which she needs, and she will give the atheistic society of

the West, the shock of a polity which is based on the Gospel. Her destiny is twofold. We are at the moment of change from her hermit existence to her apostolate. Without it, all is incoherent, with it, all is prophetic.

Thus the union of the Churches is fruitful, inevitable, and enjoined. It will come to pass!

The form of Union

Union will come about. But how? Some details of it must be for a long time uncertain, but one cannot lay down its principles too forcibly, for fear, through enterprising the work too thoughtlessly or proudly, of compromising the efforts of successors or imperilling one's own faith.

Up till now union has only been conceived of under two forms, and both, I must confess, seem to me equally illusory.

(*a*) First is the *conversion* of one Church to another; this conversion would have to take place either individually or *en masse*. There are in Russia a very small number of *converted Romans*, and in France still fewer *converted Orthodox*. But all have owed their conversion simply to the very special circumstances of their life: the Russians who have joined the Roman Communion are for the most part nobles who are more often travelling than at home on their estates: it is impossible, even were it only for want of churches and priests, to "romanize" a parish of *moujiks*, and still more impossible, perhaps, to romanize a *moujik* by himself, for among these Orientals religion is not an individual affair. In every case, and making all allowance for the duties imposed by conscience on each individual, it

seems to me that Christians should have other ambitions than to fish for single souls in their neighbours' pond, when they could make in the open sea of heathendom so beautiful a miraculous draught.

Conversion *en masse* is not less difficult. It assumes either that the Holy Synod accepts not only the *Filioque* but the Vatican Council, not to say the Roman curia—or that the Pope gives up his Primacy, his theology, his unleavened bread, his statues, and a good many other things besides. I would not injure any belief, and I place myself in submission to every dogmatic idea, but as surely as I say the sun will rise, I affirm that to keep Russian Orthodoxy on Slav soil there are at least the necessities of place; to keep Roman Catholicism on Latin ground there are at least the necessities of time: Russia can no more renounce her conservatism than her *tchernaziom*; the Latins can no more renounce their Pope than their last centuries. We must lift up the mountains before we fill up this abyss.

The national religion is absolutely suited to the national character. You have shown me that the Anglicans have hardly received into their Church any Catholics, five priests or six—and these were generally Irish. In Russia it is the same. Three phases of Christianity dispute with Orthodoxy for the consciences of the Russians.

(i) The *Raskol* and the Sects. We know from what a Slav root they proceed, and to what rebellion against the Empire they lead, being as insinuating through that which is national in their origin, as dangerous through that which is anti-national in their effects.

(ii) Protestantism. It comes by the Baltic Provinces with German culture in the more refined

CATHEDRAL, BORKI.

classes, and by its tendency to intellectual individualism runs the risk of playing there the part of an aristocratic *Raskol.*

(iii) Roman Catholicism. Do not forget that this is considered the Polish religion. Now, the Poles

are further from the Russians than the French from the Germans, inveterate foes, implacable conquerors who had to be driven from the Kremlin in 1612; one only realizes how providential this delivery was when on its second centenary other barbarians had to be driven along the road to Poland, barbarians of whom nothing is remembered except their thefts from the *iconostases*: and the statue of Minine and Pajarski on the Red Place seems to defend Moscow from its hosts of enemies and from an alien creed at the same time.

There remains, it is true, a fourth Church, a Catholicism of the Roman obedience and Greek rite: it is the hope of some French priests who are persuaded that they will win Russia by wearing a beard and speaking Slavonic: they are innocently courting an ignominious rebuff, for most Russians, who already credit the Western missionaries with I know not what insinuating intrigues, will pronounce them to be doubly Latins because they see them disguised as Greeks.

These misunderstandings are heartbreaking, but they exist. To ignore them is, in spite of yourself, to increase them. Orthodoxy—and you know what is its awaking to-day—can alone make the union. To try and ruin the Orthodox Church is to play the game of atheism.

(*b*) Then some have suggested—and this is the second scheme—an opportunist alliance against this atheism, which no one should fear who had the words of eternal life; a reconciliation of the truth with half truths in which people ignore, with a tolerance which is mere scepticism, the dogmas which divide; a federation of Churches which are fundamentally separated, an agreement made between pontiffs, a union on parchment; a kind of

commercial treaty, a diplomatist's handshake instead of the kiss of peace. It is to do a priest too great an injury to believe that he will ever attempt it. But incredulity urges us: we shall hear about "broad-mindedness!" Oh! the men of little faith!

It is necessary, then, that each Church should remain unchanging, and that union should be complete. You will take exact notice of these terms: absolute unchangingness, i.e., at least, no change of doctrinal standards, and absolute union, i.e., at least, doctrinal union. It is a contradiction. What miracle of charity will harmonize it?

The miracle of charity will be, in the first place, a miracle of patience. True union will not be the fruit of a few years only. The bishops themselves could not hasten it much, yet we, who are nobodies, must toil for it immediately. In what way, you know better than I.

We must have in each country—Russia, England, France—a group of men willing to pave the way for union, and these groups must enter into correspondence with each other. There could be at first only the relations of study, but this could be pursued in two directions—first into Christian antiquities which, properly understood, bring us nearer to the state of feeling prior to the schism: second into those circumstances of society which, at the present day, keep up the separation, and which, if better understood, would make us see that there is less of evil disposition in it than might be thought. In this intercourse each group would communicate its special excellence to the rest, in the conviction that one draws nearer to the alien creed, not by struggling with it as a foe, but by sanctifying it as a brother. In exchange, he will draw from the "schismatic" some illustrations to pass on to the

"orthodox." It is all very modest, but true charity is prone to multiply. This correspondence of private individuals will be changed into correspondence on behalf of their whole organizations, and we shall see this novel, or rather revived, occurrence in the history of Christendom, direct action of Church upon Church.

Of course, people will criticize the first workers on these lines. Especially it will be said, "Do not these men, who by dint of going back to its source have separated their nationality from their Christianity, risk making of it a religion so abstract that it deserves at most the name of philosophy?" Or, better, "Can these men, who, in order to ascertain the conditions of unity have examined that which, in other communions, is produced by the corresponding middle party, turn this relativity back, against the communion to which they belong, and in this to-and-fro movement between the Churches remain themselves of the party which needs no Church?" If they were dilettanti, yes, it would all be possible. But you know to what admirable men of action my thoughts are turning. Their successors could not but have solid gains from them.

You are a Latin, I am a Russian. A Latin, you can only practise your religion with your Latin qualities and defects. A Russian, I can only practise my religion with my Russian qualities and defects. Be it so. You keep your scholastic theology and the rosary; I keep my mysticism and my signs of the Cross. But let us pass humbly by the whole question of practice. It is when we deepen our faith with all the helps of our temperament that we find ourselves increasingly nearer to each other because we are nearer

to the same Christ. The means must be different for the ends to be similar. There is no Catholicism without national character, but there would be no national character except for Catholicism. In that way unchangingness and unity are harmonized. Each in his conscience will have the conviction of having yielded nothing, and each, before his brother, will have the joy of having given himself up completely.

I add a quotation from Morel which will put away the last scruples, part of an admirable letter printed in full in the history of his life (pp. 291–298). They are well-known phrases, but one has pleasure in writing them were it only in order to get them known by heart: "Men can become truly human, and each can develop in himself whatever true humanity he has, only by disengaging themselves from the mental outlook of their own country and period of time. In the same way, in religious matters, one has to get into a state of mind truly 'Catholic,' a state of mind necessary to receive in 'Orthodox' fashion the tradition of our fathers in the Faith. The less one is the creature of prejudices of time and place the more one is universal and 'Catholic'; and the more, also, is one prepared to understand in doctrine that which is in the background of all differences of place and time, and in consequence 'Orthodox.'

"Thus the unity of the Church depends on the unification of all civilized States. This unification, properly understood, will be entirely relative: each people will, of necessity, keep its own character. But the increasingly frequent intercourse between different nations will have for its inevitable result an increasingly potent mutual influence. And, for my part, I am persuaded that the West has much to

gain from a better knowledge of the Slav races, and especially of the Russians. In the civilization of the future each people will have the part which it is qualified to discharge. It will be necessary, then, that those who present religion to the world shall present it, not as something French or German, Latin or Greek, but as something essentially human. It is only when it is truly human, and adapts itself to all men of all countries, that religion shows itself to be divine.

"Finally, I see two ways of bringing nearer the date of the union of Christians: the study of Christian antiquities made and begun with the desire of gathering up respectfully the legacies bequeathed from the Fathers; then mutual intercourse between the different bodies of Christians. There will be less controversy, and what there is will be of a better kind. Courtesies between Christians have not only for their result better acquaintance with each other; they have another; people realize their own limits, and once that is attained, the desire of union grows, and people work in an entirely different spirit to accomplish it."

So far the question has only been of the mystical union of the "men before their time." But their descendants will draw that union closer until a generation arrives which dares to speak of official unity. Then it will be found to be three parts accomplished. God will do the rest.

I say more. If we can only arrive at union by deepening our faith we can only deepen our faith by thinking about union. Without this idea nothing in creed, nothing in worship, can display its full significance. If I believe in redemption it is, in the last resort, because the Councils proclaimed it,

and the Councils summed up the convictions of all the saints who felt, more keenly than I, the grace which did redeem them. If I go to the Lord's Table I remind myself that Jesus ate the Passover with the first bishops, and that their successors used to send the consecrated Host from one town to another in witness of union; and that it is with all the saints that I "sit down to meat." There is no creed of a book-case; there is no solitary Eucharist. At the root of every act which is really Christian there is the whole of the Church. But the Church has no barriers. We are the more faithful to it when we wish it to be more indefinitely one. And thus meanings without end add their wealth to those awful and sweet words, "Outside the Church there is no salvation."

However, union is urgent.

Revolution is afoot in Russia. Westerns who wish to "colonize" the Empire would be able to make magnificent *coups* there. That would only shatter it. But as the spiritual and temporal are there so mutually dependent, they know that they could only alter its political constitution by depriving it of the Christian religion. Every one is aware of their methods. The actual crisis is much less political than religious. It is very grave, for it is concerned with nothing less than the failure of Russia's primordial destiny. As soon as it breaks out she must defend herself. We are going to watch one of the most important scenes in history.

To watch is not enough. Ill equipped for modern requirements, the Russian Church has need of assistance. Be it ours to give it her—but with what charity, and above all, what discretion! Oh, that she could say that we wish to support without absorbing her, to open between her and us a door

of which she alone should have the key; to act like Martha, who looked after Mary's household without intruding on her in her contemplation; for we have the lamentable advantage over her of being her elders in the combat with evil!

She will mistrust us, but we must break down her mistrust; or, rather, we must earn her confidence, for we are under an obligation of gratitude. When the Tartars came to Europe Russia had no less civilization than France, and France and Russia had equal apprehension. From the time of the invasion the Russian genius has declined. Without doubt there was in it less power of development. All the same, Russia served as a barrier between Europe and the Horde. Our progress has been made through her set-back—our religious progress as much as our material. In their two or three centuries of servitude the Russians realized that the racial strife was a holy war, that their resistance was more for a faith than for a country, that they were martyrs as much as vanquished, that they were making a crusade at home. If in that period the Western Churches had time to acquire some features of superiority to the Russian Church, these would only be, at best, debts incurred to her. The two Churches are linked, without knowing it, by this obligation, and no moment could be more propitious for its redemption. Let us keep it in our minds.

Last night I fell asleep while listening to the songs of the revolutionaries in the street, and this morning I woke to the sound of all the bells. It is a people which will never be stationary, and which claims us as much by its sins as it attracts us by its virtues. It is this trembling in the balance

which has divinely stirred me during the days when I was writing these pages. They are finished. If they contain any words of hasty temper, or words likely to wound, may the Christians, both of my own communion and the other, be willing to pardon me. If I could have an excuse, ask for it from the men who are sons both of France and of Russia, and who are conscious that in their spirits the spirit of their Latin and Slavonic ancestors is so combined that in them the union of the Churches has been realized, and that they keep, while they pass through a world which is dying far from God, the conviction that Martha and Mary will soon be reconciled at the grave of Lazarus. For your part, keep up that good correspondence of which some letters roused in me the thoughts expressed in mine. I am going in a few days to return from Moscow to Paris, the two dear cities which, in my ignorance of other lands, are to me the cathedrals of the world. We shall try to unite together those acts of humility, which are never made better than on the floor of the Assumption, with those acts of hope which never soar upwards as they do along the arches of Nôtre Dame. Be happy in the blessing you have chosen.

Good-bye for the present.

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THE GATE OF THE LAVRA, KIEV.

OFFICIAL LETTERS

Of the following letters, the first two were published in Russian official accounts of the celebration at Kiev, and the second two were published in the *Tserkovnic Vaistnik* of S. Petersburg, August 15, 1896. The fifth is taken from the volume published at the Patriarchal Press at Constantinople containing the Patriarch Joachim's letters and all the replies which it elicited.

I

(From *The Guardian*, January 16, 1889.)

"Edward, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and Metropolitan, to Our Brother, Greatly Beloved in the Faith and Worship of the All-Holy and Undivided Trinity, Plato, by Divine Providence the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, Greeting in the Lord.

"Intelligence having reached Us of the approaching festival at the city of Kiev the Great, We, remembering the commandment of the Blessed Apostle, χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, embrace this opportunity of communicating to your Grace, and through your Grace to the Bishops and clergy and laity of the Church of Russia, Our most sincere sympathy and good will. Great festivals are either religious or national. This celebration which you are holding is,

indeed, in the first place, religious; but it is also national in the highest way. It is a thankful recognition before God of the sacred fact that Russia owes all that she has yet attained of power and dignity amongst the nations of Christendom, not merely to the sagacity of her rulers and the inborn strength of her people. You offer your thanksgiving to God because your branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which you reverently link with the name of the Apostle St. Andrew, has been co-extensive with your nation, and because the Christian faith, through the agency of the illustrious St. Vladimir, whose conversion you now commemorate, has illuminated your people through nine long centuries of history. It was our original hope and purpose to have sent a Bishop to Kiev to represent the Church of England at your festival, and We were only prevented from carrying out Our design by the events of the present month. During the whole month of July there is assembled in London under Our presidency the Universal Episcopate of the Anglican Church. That is to say, not only the Bishops of the Church of England itself, but all the Archbishops, Metropolitans and Bishops of the Church of Ireland, Scotland and America, as well as the Bishops of India, and of the British Colonies, with many Missionary Bishops and other Bishops who are in communion with Us. One hundred and forty of these are now assembled here with Us. This Conference meets once only in ten years, and its assemblies are of great importance to our communion.

"We find, therefore, that it would not be fitting for one of their number, who are assembled from all parts of the world, to quit this solemn gathering during its session. Thus We are, much to Our

regret and disappointment, compelled to abandon Our intention, and to convey by the present letter Our humble and fraternal congratulations to your Grace, and to the Church in which You worthily bear rule. Our beloved brethren will rejoice in the announcement that We have communicated to You the felicitations and congratulations, and the assurance of prayer, on behalf of your rejoicing multitude, in which We know that all will be of one heart and of one soul.

"The Russian and the Anglican Churches have common foes. Alike we have to guard our independence against that Papal aggressiveness which claims to subordinate all the Churches of Christ to the See of Rome. Alike we have to protect our flocks from new and strange doctrines, adverse to that Holy Faith which was handed down to us by the Holy Apostles and Ancient Fathers of the Catholic Church. But the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, and by mutual sympathy that we may be one ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, we shall encourage each other, and promote the salvation of all men.

"Praying, therefore, earnestly in the Spirit for the unity of all men in the Faith of the Gospel, laid down and expounded by the Œcumenical Councils of the Undivided Church of Christ, and in the living knowledge of the Son of God, We remain your Grace's most faithful and devoted servant and Brother in the Lord.

"(Signed) EDW. CANTUAR.

"Given at Our Palace of Lambeth in London, and sealed with Our Archiepiscopal Seal on the Western Fourteenth day of July, in the year of Our Salvation, one thousand, eight hundred and eighty-eight."

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THE CHURCH OF THE LAVRA, KIEV.

II

(From the *Norwich Gazette*, October 8, 1895.)

"To His Beloved Brother in Christ, Edward, the Most Renowned Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, the Humble Plato, by Divine Mercy Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, Sendeth Greeting in the Lord.

"First of all I offer You, beloved Brother, sincere thanks on behalf both of Myself and of all the Russians that were at Kiev at the Celebration of the 900th Anniversary of the Baptism of Russia into the Christian Faith, for Your loving letter of congratulation upon that occasion. That letter was extremely gratifying to us, not only in itself, on account of the spirit of Christian faith and love in which it was expressed, but also because that of all the heads of the Western Churches none other has sent us a similar greeting.

"Your Grace rightly says that Russia is indebted for her power and the position which she holds amongst Christian nations, not only to the wisdom of her rulers and the inborn strength of her people, but also to the fact that our branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church has grown up together with our nation, and that the Christian Faith has illuminated it through nine long centuries of history. Yes, the Orthodox Faith of Christ, professed by our Holy Church, has indeed hitherto had a great and most blessed influence upon the destinies of Russia. By it the Lord gives strength unto our Most Religious and Gracious Sovereigns; it enables our Christ-loving soldiery to overcome the hosts of their enemies; and it arouses in every

Orthodox Russian that spirit of self-denial which makes him ready to sacrifice all, even life itself, for his Faith, Tsar, and Fatherland.

"I entirely agree with You that the Russian and English Churches have the common foes of which You speak in Your letter to me, and that we ought together with you to contend against them, mutually encouraging and supporting one another; but for this it is indispensable that your and our Churches should enter into a more complete spiritual union with one another. Our Church sincerely desires such an union, for at each one of her services she intreats the Lord "for the peace of all the world, for the welfare of the Holy Churches of God, and for the union of them all"; but, if You also, as appears from Your letter, desire that we may be one with you ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου I beg you to communicate to me distinctly and definitely *upon what conditions you consider the union of your and our Churches would be possible.*

"Together with You fervently entreating the Lord, that by His grace He may dispose all men to come into the unity of the Faith and of the Knowledge of the Son of God, and heartily praying that He may preserve You and all England under His protection in perfect prosperity.

"With deep respect, I remain,

"Your most devoted servant and brother in the Lord,

"PLATO,
"*Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia.*

"PECHERSKAIA LAVRA, KIEV,
"*Sept.* 14, 1888."

III

(From *The Times*, July 25, 1896.)

"EDWARD, BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN, TO PALLADIUS, THE MOST REVEREND METROPOLITAN OF ST. PETERSBURG AND LADOGA, PRESIDENT OF THE MOST HOLY GOVERNING SYNOD OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, VERY REVEREND ABBOT OF THE LAVRA OF THE MOST RELIGIOUS GRAND DUKE ST. ALEXANDER NEVSKY, SENDETH GREETING IN THE LORD.

"We are most desirous to testify, on the solemn occasion of the approaching Coronation, the truly deep and sympathetic reverence which the Church of England entertains towards the Throne and Person of his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, over which, in all loyal devotion to his Imperial Majesty, your Eminence most worthily presides.

"We have therefore delegated one of the principal Prelates of our Church, the Right Reverend Mandell Creighton, Doctor of Divinity, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, a distinguished historian, and one of the most learned of living scholars and divines, to convey to your Eminence the assurance of these sentiments.

"Her Majesty the Queen, our Most Religious and Gracious Sovereign, has been pleased to express Her approval of this our desire of the delegation of the Right Reverend Bishop.

"We earnestly commit him, therefore, to your Eminence's fatherly kindness, and are assured that You will accept the affection with which We welcome the opportunity of expressing the love and charity which binds Us to you in Christ Jesus our Lord.

"We unite our prayers with yours to the All Holy and Blessed Trinity, Three Persons and One God, for the peace and stability of your Orthodox Church and Empire, at a moment when you are rejoicing in hope of all temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings to be poured upon your Nation and their August Sovereign, and imploring for Him a long and happy reign in honor, justice, and mercy, and in possession of the hearts of His people.

"EDW. CANTUAR.

"Given at Lambeth Palace, on the 6th day of May, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-six, and of Our Translation the fourteenth."

IV

(From *The Times*, July 25, 1896.)

"PALLADIUS, BY DIVINE MERCY METROPOLITAN OF ST PETERSBURG AND LADOGA, ARCHMANDRITE OF THE LAVRA OF THE HOLY TRINITY AND ST. ALEXANDER NEVSKY, PRESIDING MEMBER OF THE MOST HOLY GOVERNING SYNOD OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, UNTO EDWARD, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN, GREETING IN THE LORD.

"Your Grace's highly-valued letter of the sixth of this month of May, upon the occasion of the solemnity of the Coronation and Sacred Anointing with Chrism of our Most Religious Sovereign Lord, the Emperor Nicholas Alexandrovitch, and of our Most Religious Sovereign Lady, the Empress Alexandra Theodorovna, in which You, as Primite of All England,

are pleased to express the feelings of sincere respect entertained by the Church of England towards the Throne of All the Russias, towards the Person of his Imperial Majesty, and towards the Orthodox Church of Russia, has been received by Us from your Grace's accredited representative, the Reverend Lord Bishop of Peterborough, the Right Reverend Mandell Creighton.

"Having received the Right Reverend Mandell with love in Christ, and having expressed to Him our gratitude for the labour undertaken by Him in the journey to the Capital of the First Throne of the Russian Empire, in order to be present upon the day of the all-joyful solemnity of the Crowning of our Most Religious Tsar, We considered it Our duty to bring the contents of Your letter to the knowledge of the Most Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias, at its session on tenth of this month of May.

"The Most Holy Synod, in full session of all its members, listened with becoming attention at your Grace's letter, and commissioned Me to express to You, as Primate of the Church of England, its feelings of profound gratitude for the good wishes expressed by You on behalf of that Church towards our Most Religious Sovereign Lord, towards the Orthodox Church, and towards the Russian people, and for joining in our prayers for the long, happy and glorious reign of our Sovereign to the joy and well-being of His faithful subjects.

"On Our own behalf, offering hearty thanks to your Grace for the good will expressed in Your letter, We have the consolation of informing You that, by the gracious permission of Divine Providence, the Coronation and Sacred Anointing with Chrism of their Imperial Majesties have now been accom-

plished as a holy pledge of the blessing of God upon the greater exaltation and confirmation of the High Imperial Authority.

"And therefore offering up glory and praise to the Most High Giver of all good, We, together with this, likewise declare to your Grace Our fervent gratitude for Your prayerful participation in this our national solemnity, and We pray unto the Heavenly Chief Pastor that He may preserve under His gracious protection her Majesty the Queen of England, that He may govern Your flock unto salvation in peace and prosperity, and that He may prolong Your days unto the extreme limit of human life and in perfect health unto the successful fulfilling of Your high service.

"The twenty-eighth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six from the Birth of Christ, and the thirtieth of our Episcopate.

"THE HUMBLE PALLADIUS,

"*Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, Presiding Member of the Most Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias.*"

V

(From *The Guardian*, August 26 and September 2, 1903.)

"TO the Most Holy Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch, the Lord Joachim III, together with the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Great Church of Christ at Constantinople, we send a brotherly salutation in Christ.

"It was with especial joy and love that the Most

Holy Synod of All the Russias received the revered and Spirit-bearing epistle of your Holiness and of your Sacred Synod, impressed, as it was, with that zeal for the welfare of the Church of God, and that invariable care for the salvation of all men, to which we are accustomed from the throne of Chrysostom, and, likewise, with its especial love and affinity to the Church of Russia; and, after attentive investigation and discussion, it now proceeds to reply to your love, and to communicate to you its opinion upon the questions so opportunely proposed by your wise solicitude.

"First of all, remembering the words of the Psalmist, 'Behold how good and how joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity,' and the commandment of the Apostle 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' we greet with love your thought, dear to God, as to the necessity of consolidating unity and extending the circle of mutual intercourse between those sisters in the faith, the local Holy Orthodox Churches of God, deeming that it is only in mutual love, and in constant and active communication one with another, that the Holy Churches will find the requisite support and strength for their great 'wrestling against the rulers of the darkness of this world'—against infidelity, indifferentism, and other noisome blasts. By far the best and most perfect expression of this holy fraternal love and most blessed communion of the Churches of God, and the most effectual means for the healing of our social disorders, would be, without doubt, special assemblies of Orthodox bishops, and especially of the chief representatives of the Churches, and that they should confer immediately together, 'mouth to mouth,' upon questions which, at the time being, were agitating their spiritual flock. If the bishops,

when their hearts are so inclined, stimulated by the duties laid upon them as chief pastors, assemble themselves together, and, without dissimulation, regarding themselves as before the face of Christ Himself, Who, in very truth, has promised to be in the midst of those Who are gathered together in His Name, with a pure conscience, and with unanimous prayer, pronounce before all the world the confession of their faith, or lay down a decision healing the disorders and wounds in the Church, then the Holy Ghost, dwelling in the Church universal, and moving her, without doubt speaks in such a case by the mouths of the bishops who have assembled themselves together in prayer, although each one of them acknowledge himself to be the most sinful of men. And if of old the place was shaken where the Church was assembled together after prayer, and after having boldly invoked the all-powerful right hand of Divine Providence against the foes which surrounded her, so now, without doubt, the united prayer of the representatives of the Church likewise 'availeth much,' nor would any forces of the enemy be able to withstand the confession of faith boldly proclaimed by their council; and the life of the Church, having found such a clear expression for itself, would without doubt shine forth with an inexplicable light before the face of all the world, and would attract to itself the hearts of all who are seeking the truth, rousing also at the same time the slumbering consciences of those who were begotten in the faith, but have forgotten, or waxen cold towards it.

"But, however desirable such an assemblage of all the Orthodox bishops might be, at the present time, when the local Holy Churches are divided from one another by the boundaries of States, and when every

sort of inter-ecclesiastical relation of necessity touches also upon international relations, it is scarcely possible that such an assemblage of bishops, or any such general and universal deliberation by them on Church questions, could be brought about. For the time being one may pray and wish for this. But a more immediate undertaking for the local Holy Orthodox Churches, and for their wise representatives, presents itself—to approach as near as possible to the bright ideal, just mentioned, of the œcumenical intercourse of the early Church, by maintaining one with another a constant and living connection by means of written and other intercourse, exchanging brotherly messages upon the occasion of all joyful and sorrowful events in their Church life, asking for brotherly counsel and information in difficult cases, each sharing its own experience in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs with the rest. And more especially in such an exchange of opinions among the sister Churches indispensable in questions which concern the essence of the faith and the fundamental position of the present organization of the Church, or in such as have an inter-ecclesiastical character. May it ever be that in cases when in some local Church any kind of reform has to be entered upon which deeply affects the established order of the Church, when this local Church is required to pronounce, or there has been already pronounced, a sentence upon any kind of new religious movement, more particularly if its influence may be supposed to extend beyond the bounds of the Church in question—may it ever be that on such occasions the representative of that Church, by means of an epistle or in some other way, shall inform the representatives likewise of the other local Orthodox Churches, asking of their brotherly experience for their advice, and putting

them in possession of the facts of what has taken place in his own region. Such constant mutual help and sharing in a common life will without doubt serve as a real and living bond, strengthening all the local Churches in the one body growing up into 'an habitation of God through the Spirit.' But likewise in its own particular life each autocephalous Orthodox Church must always (as, indeed, it does at present) preserve the memory and consciousness of its union with the other Orthodox Churches, and of the fact that only in communion and agreement with them has it the pledge of truth and of eternal life, or manifests itself as the Church of God, and that, if it has lost this communion and union, it must perish and wither as a branch which has fallen away from the vine. May the constant and active introduction into their life and ecclesiastical practice of this principle of œcumenicity (*vselenskosti*), the training of a feeling of its necessity in his ecclesiastical community, be the subject of the special care of the wise representatives of the local Churches, and we believe that their unremitting and sincere zeal will not be slow in bringing forth abundant fruit in the blessed field of œcumenical union, enlivening at the same time the Church life of each local Church, strengthening the faith of its children, perfecting them in the hope of eternal life, and together with this likewise revealing to all the world the truth in all its splendour, and the power of the orthodox faith of Christ.

"As regards our relations towards two great ramifications of Christianity, the Latins and the Protestants, the Russian Church, together with all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, ever prays, awaits, and fervently desires that those who in times of old were children of Mother Church and sheep of the one flock of Christ, but who now have been torn away

by the envy of the foe and are wandering astray, 'should repent and come to the knowledge of the truth,' that they should once more return to the bosom of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, to their one Shepherd. We believe in the sincerity of their faith in the All-Holy and Life-originative Trinity, and on that account we accept [as valid] the baptism of both one and the other. We respect the Apostolical Succession of the Latin hierarchy, and those of their clergy who join our Church we accept [as validly ordained] in the Orders which they then possess, just as we do in the case of Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, and other bodies that have not lost the Apostolical Succession. 'Our heart is enlarged' (2 *Cor.* vi. 11), and we are ready to do all that is possible in order to promote the establishment upon earth of the unity which we so much desire. But, to our great regret and to the common grief of all true children of the Church, at the present time we are obliged to think, not so much of the softening of our relations towards Western Christians, and of a love-abounding drawing of their communities to union with us, as of the unwearying and ever-watchful defence of the rational [*slovesnikh* = λογικῶν] sheep committed to our charge from unceasing attacks and multiform seducements on the part of the Latins and the Protestants.

"Well known to our dearly beloved and highly esteemed fathers and brethren are the secular desires of Rome, which indeed in their time served as the cause of her apostasy; well known in history her various artifices, both open and secret, directed with the object of subjecting to herself the Orthodox East; and well known are the costly schools, the missionary societies, the special monastic orders and other institutions, which indeed exist down to the present day,

and whose number does not cease to grow, whose sole object is to ensnare, if possible, the children of the Orthodox Church. Upon Russia, in particular, the eyes of Latinism have long been directed. Not being able to seduce our common people, simple, but pious and devoted to the Church as they are, they turn to members of the higher aristocracy, who have been accustomed to living abroad, and who, for many generations, have been in constant communion with the spirit of the West, and by means of secret propaganda, of literature, the press, etc., they strive to unsettle them in the faith of their fathers, and to establish Roman Catholicism amongst them. The conversion of Russia and of the Russian people constitutes the secret dream and unconcealable goal of the yearnings of the papacy of our times. Therefore, however pacific the speeches of the Latins may be, however assiduously they may express and emphasize in all sorts of ways their especial love and respect for the Orthodox Church, and in particular for the Russian people and State, these fair words must not, nor can they, conceal the real desires of Rome from our attention: and we, of necessity, shall only all the more increase our watchfulness and our determination to stand stedfastly upon the immovable soil of Orthodoxy, and not to be lured away by any appearances of peace falsely understood, notwithstanding all our longing for the union of faith enjoined upon all Christians by Christ our Saviour Himself.

"And just as inaccessible, if not even more so, Protestantism shows itself to be at the present time. Having no understanding of Church life, and requiring for themselves external works evident to the senses, chiefly of a general social character, the Protestant communities look upon our Eastern Church as a region of ecclesiastical stagnation, of error and dark-

ness unredeemed by a ray of light, not even stopping short of bringing accusations of idolatry against us, and therefore out of falsely understood zeal for Christ they do not spare material means and forces for the spreading of their Protestant errors amongst the children of the Orthodox Church, losing no opportunity of undermining the authority of the Orthodox hierarchy and of unsettling the faith of the people in the sanctity of the traditions of the Church. Religious exclusiveness and even fanaticism, mixed with a contemptuous arrogance in relation to Orthodoxy, is the distinguishing mark of the Protestants, one may say, even more than of the Latins. Of course, much of this may be explained by the secular prejudices and general narrowness of the horizon of the German school of theology, and, consequently, likewise of the Protestant Church agents, and this fact imposes upon our scholars the duty of revealing before the consciousness of the West the true majesty and the really Christian purity of Orthodoxy. But until this onerous and thankless sowing of seed upon the stony ground of cultured pride and mutual misunderstanding shall come to bear fruit, it behoves us representatives of the Church, and especially of the Russian Church, to exert all our strength in the fight against the multiform allurements of this dangerous enemy of the Church, making prayer without ceasing unto her Chief Shepherd to defend His faithful sheep against its assaults.

"The Anglicans assume a somewhat different attitude towards Orthodoxy. With rare exceptions they do not aim at the perversion of Orthodox Christians, and upon every occasion and opportunity strive to show their special respect for the Holy Apostolic Eastern Church, admitting that she, and not Rome, is the true conservator of the traditions of the Fathers,

and in union and agreement with her seeking a justification for themselves [i.e., for their own position]. Love and goodwill cannot but call forth love on our side also, and nourish in us the good hope of the possibility of Church union with them in the future. But here, also, much still remains to be done and to be explained, before that it will be possible to think of any definite step in one or in the other direction. And, first of all, it is indispensable that the desire for union with the Eastern Orthodox Church should become the sincere desire not only of a certain fraction of Anglicanism (the 'High Church'), but of the whole Anglican community, that the other purely Calvinistic current which in essence rejects the Church, as we understand her, and whose attitude towards Orthodoxy is one of particular intolerance, should be absorbed in the above-mentioned pure current, and should lose its perceptible, if we may not say exclusive, influence upon the Church policy and in general upon the whole Church life of this confession which, in the main, is exempt from enmity towards us. On our side, in our relations towards Anglicans, there ought to be a brotherly readiness to assist them with explanations, an habitual attentiveness to their best desires, all possible indulgence towards misunderstandings which are natural after ages of separation, but at the same time a firm profession of the truth of our Œcumenical Church as the one guardian of the inheritance of Christ and the one saving ark of divine grace.

"The so-called Old Catholics, who courageously raised their voice against 'him that loveth to have the pre-eminence over them' (3 *John* 9), and to this day are not ceasing to make every sacrifice in their great fight for the truth and for conscience, from the very first steps which they took, found sympathy for

themselves amongst our active Churchmen and representatives of theological science, some of whom took a very lively interest in their cause, working unweariedly on their behalf both in literature and at congresses. In response to a general desire a special commission was instituted in S. Petersburg for the investigation of the question concerning the Old Catholics and for intercourse with them. (This Commission, indeed, exists up to the present time.) Our workers were animated by the very best feelings towards the Old Catholics, and understanding all the diversity in national, historical, ecclesiastical and other conditions and traditions, maintained throughout a patient attitude towards the disagreements and misunderstandings of the Old Catholics which arose, and were ready to do everything to smooth a way for their entry into the Church. At first this much-to-be-desired work appeared to be near and realizable without any special difficulty. But time goes on. The chief pillars of the Old Catholic Movement, brought up in traditions which, although not Orthodox, were at least ecclesiastical, are one after another passing away from the arena of life, and giving place to new men, it may be, just as sincere and self-denying, but not so firm in their Churchmanship, they not having lived a Church life; while they are surrounded, for the most part, by a Protestant world, to which, moreover, they are near, both in language and in a common civil life, and in University education, and, lastly, in their very struggle with Rome. To these new men, not particularly firm in Churchmanship, under the circumstances of their being far distant from the East, and of having no clear but a dim conception of it, the Protestant world may naturally appear congenial and near, and it is not easy for them to bear up against its imperceptible

but constant influence. And this is the reason that our Russian Church, while not ceasing even now to sympathize with, and admire, the Old Catholics, or to co-operate in every way with their praiseworthy search for Church truth, is beginning to look with some anxiety upon the future of this movement, and to ask the question whether the Old Catholics will keep to their original resolution to belong only to the real Œcumenical Church, and will aim at union with her; or whether, carried away by an alluring day dream, so natural to the rationalistic West, of reinstating the true Church amongst themselves at home by their own powers of learning and by their intellect, they will turn aside into the byways of Protestantism, to the great grief of all their true friends? The task that lies before us in respect to them ought, in our opinion, to consist in this—that while we should not place superfluous obstacles to union in their way by misplaced intolerance or suspiciousness, nor on the other hand be carried away by the easily understood desire to have useful and extremely learned allies against Rome, we should seriously and stedfastly, according to conscience and before Christ, reveal to them our faith and unchangeable conviction in the fact that our Eastern Orthodox Church, which has inviolably preserved the complete deposit of Christ, is alone at the present time the Œcumenical Church, and that thereby in very deed we should show them what they ought to have in view, and upon what they ought to decide, if they really believe in the savingness of abiding within the Church and sincerely desire union with her.

"And, lastly, the question of the change, or merely of some reform of the Calendar, has been troubling the minds of the Orthodox in our country not a little for some time past, just as it has with you. At

the command of our Most Religious Sovereign a Special Commission of learned representatives of the various branches of knowledge bearing upon this subject was formed at the Imperial Academy of Science expressly for the purpose of investigating this question. But the labours of this Commission, which are extremely complicated and many-sided, are up to the present not concluded, and it is impossible to say beforehand what will be their final result. It is only necessary, in our opinion, to keep in view the fact that this question has many sides, which respectively admit of an elucidation and settlement by no means identical the one with the other. The application of the New Style to the civil reckoning of time only, without changing the Paschalia, and without transferring the Church festivals, but merely changing the figure of the dates agreeably to the New Style (i.e., the day which is now dated January 6th would then be dated January 19th, but would still remain the Feast of the Theophany), would, of course, not particularly affect the interests of the Church, inasmuch as in Church practice the Julian Calendar would still remain in full force (except that the Feast of the New Year would then no longer coincide with the Feast of the Circumcision of the Lord, but with the memorial of S. Boniface the Martyr on December 19th of the Old Style, just as is now the practice, for instance, in the Orthodox Church of Japan, which has to date its festivals by the New Style which is used in Japan). But if we are to touch upon the question of the purely scientific worth of this or that reckoning of time, the scholars of most weight amongst us incline rather in favour of the Julian Calendar, with merely certain corrections admitted into it, and not at all to exchanging it for the Gregorian Calendar, which, according to the con-

clusion they have come to, is less skilfully contrived. And this authoritative voice of the scholars constrains us, the guardians of the Church, to maintain an attitude of great caution towards the desire of some people to change the Calendar, if thereby is meant an alteration of the Paschalia and of the whole chronology of the Church. Such a change, disturbing the immemorial order of things which has repeatedly been hallowed by the Church, would, without doubt, be accompanied by certain disturbances in the life of the Church, and meanwhile, on the present occasion, such disturbances would not find sufficient justification for themselves, either in the exclusive rightfulness of the proposed reform, or in the needs of the Church being ripe for the change. Wherefore, for our part, we would stand up for the conservation of the Julian Calendar in Church practice, admitting at the most only the formal alterations with regard to the New Year, and the renumbering of the dates as we have explained above.

"Proposing all that we have enunciated above to your love, and to your wise and favourable judgment, we cannot help turning the attention of the representatives of the holy Churches of God to the sorrowful fact that even within the Orthodox Church itself we see a weakening of love worthy of tears, dissensions and division, sometimes going so far as a rupture of ecclesiastical communion. Let our love be extended to our erring brethren who dwell in our midst. Side by side with us stand those ancient Christian communities, the Nestorians, the Armenians, the Copts and others, which have been separated for many centuries from the Church, but have not lost their Church organization nor their hierarchy, and which at the present time, in the persons of their leading members, are in some cases beginning to arrive at a

sense of the wrongfulness of their apostacy. To draw once more into the bosom of the one Church these men, who live side by side with us, and are extremely near to us in culture, manners, and customs, and more particularly in the fashion of their Church life and in the type of their religion, appears to be the most immediate object for our Church to undertake, and our direct and absolute duty, in fulfilling which we not only should revive these ancient communities into a new Church life, but in time should discover for the Church herself a new source of strong and zealous labourers in the common work of the Church.

"Most heartily beseeching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ that He may confirm His Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in unanimity, and may strengthen the principal of mutual love and communion within her, and that He may grant unto your Holiness and the Holy and Sacred Synod surrounding you, together with all the great Church of Constantinople, peace and prosperity and good success in all things, we remain, with brotherly love in Christ our God,

"ANTONIUS, *Metropolitan of S. Petersburg and Ladoga.*
"VLADIMIR, *Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna.*
"VLADIMIR, *Bishop of Vladikavkaz and Mozdok.*
"NICHOLAS, *Bishop of Tavrida and Simferopol.*
"JOHN, *Bishop of Saratoff and Tzaritzyn.*
"MARCELLUS, *Bishop.*

"*February 23, 1903.*"

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INDEX

abrok, 17, 55.
Academies, 142.
Adrian, 100.
Alexander I, 25.
Alexander II, 25.
Alexander III, 25.
Alexis, 82, 97.
Ambrose, Raskol, 189.
Ambrose, Metropolitan of Bosnia, 191.
antrustions, 33.
Araktchéef, 25.
artelchik, 18.
artèle, 18, 55.
Askold, 32, 91.
Azov, Sea of, 34, 41.

Bachkirs, 23, 24, 155.
Baltic, 32.
Baptism, 113, 195.
barin, 26, 29, 39, 62, 79, 80, 83, 84, 115, 135.
bátiushka, 39.
Baty, 34.
Bezpapovtsy, 188, 192–199, 210, 211.
Bishop, 127, 141, 149, 162.
Black clergy, 133
Black Sea, 32.
bordiers, 19, 20.
Boris Godounof, 24, 82, 96, 162.
Bosphorus, 32.
boyards, 24, 82.
Byzantium, 32, 33, 34, 91, 93, 130.

Canada, 203, 205, 206.
Candlesticks, 112, 126.
Carthage, 32.
Catechism, 134, 150.
Catherine II, 25, 82.
chchi, 27, 57.
Chinese, 35, 87.
Chrism, 113.
Cigarettes, 27, 59, 68.
cloutchnik, 18.
Communion, 114–116, 120, 123, 128, 131, 140.
Confession, 117, 119, 134, 140, 142, 195.
Confirmation, 113, 119, 120, 141.
Consecration, of Eucharist, 113, 121, 123.
Consistory, 143.
Constantinople, 42, 93, 94, 183.
corvée, 12, 13, 19, 24.
Cossacks, 24.
Council of Elders, 16, 60.
Council Ecumenical, 107, 154, 175, 177.
Cross, Sign of, 84, 101, 107, 127, 183, 184, 230.
Cyril, S., 5.

Cyril, Patriarch, 93.
Cyril, Raskol, 191.

Deacon, 137.
Denissof, 192, 194.
Diocese, 141, 161.
Dir, 32.
Dmitri Donskoi, 36, 168.
Dnieper, 32, 92.
domavoi, 74.
Doukhabory, 203–209, 212, 213,
droujina, 33, 35.
dvornik, 59.
Duma, 45, 74, 79.

Easter, 31.
Ecumenical Councils, 107, 154, 175, 177.
edinavertsy, 190.
Erasmus, Bishop of Smolensk, 94.
Errants, 195, 213.

Fasts, 112, 113, 115.
Feasts of Obligation, 112.
Feodr, 24, 96.
Filioque Clause, 106, 155, 173.
Franks, 33.
Frederick II, 34.

Gaul, 33.
Genghis Khan, 34.
gorodavoi, 59.
Great Russia, 9.

Hermogenes, Patriarch, 97.
Humbert, Cardinal, 128.
Humphrey, 40.

Igor, 32.
Ikons, 15, 53, 82, 88, 110, 112, 125, 126, 146.
Ikonostasis, 110, 123, 126, 228.
Ilmen, Lake, 32.
Indulgences, 107.
Infallibility of Church, 154.
Infallibility, Papal, 107, 171.
Intinction, 128.
ispravnik, 84.
Ivan the Great, 36, 94.
Ivan the Terrible, 23, 36, 96, 183.
izba, 6, 15, 49, 51, 65, 80, 110, 134.
izvoschik, 18.

Jacovlev, 189.
Jaroslav, 23, 32, 92.
Javorski, Stephen, 100.
John of Cronstadt, 117, 168.
Joseph, Patriarch of Kiev, 93.
Judas, 128.

Kalka, 34.
Kazan, 126, 142.
Kharkov, 203.
Khiva, 35.
Khlisty, 199–203, 212, 213.
Kiev, 32, 34, 93, 130, 142, 168, 237.
Koulikov, 36.
kouptsy, 31.
Kremlin, 3, 61, 65, 82, 89, 228.
ktitor, 159, 162, 163.

Ladoga, Lake, 32.
lapti, 13.
Lipegui, 19.
Liturgical year, 112.
Louis, S., 34.
loutchines, 13.
Lovat, 32.

Macarius, 150.
malebenes, 80.

Marriage, 117.
Mass, 112, 113, 133, 137, 158.
Men of God, cf. *Khlisty*.
Merovingians, 33.
Merv, 42.
Messalinié, 210.
métayers, 23, 25.
Methodius, S., 5.
Michael Romanoff, 40, 97.
Minine, 63.
mir, 15, 22, 23, 54, 79, 80, 92.
Monasticism, 146, 164.
Money-lenders, 22.
Mongols, 35.
Monks, 133, 142, 146, 164.
Moscow, 36, 52, 62, 78, 82, 89, 93, 94, 136, 142, 183, 194.
myr, 212.

Neva, 32.
Nicholas I, 65, 169.
Nihilists, 43.
Nikon, 97, 145, 169, 183, 188, 193.
Novgorod, 32, 192.

Oka, 18, 36.
Oleg, 32.
Orders, Holy, 118.
Orenburg, 12.

Pain béni, 123.
Pajarski, 63.
pametschik, 26, 83.
Pamortsy, 192, 194.
Papovtsy, 182, 188–192, 211.
Parish organization, 138, 150, 155, 160.
Parish priest, 132, 150.
Patriarch of Constantinople, 93, 94, 96, 101.
Patriarch of Moscow, 96.
Penance, 116, 118.
Penza, 19.
Pepin of Landen, 33.
Peter the Great, 25, 37, 40, 41, 56, 97, 100, 144, 145, 163, 185, 188, 192.
Petersburg, S., 42, 101, 142.
Philarete, 97.
Pilgrims, 103, 163, 168.
Poles, 61, 82, 97, 227.
Port Arthur, 42, 43.
Pougatchof, 82.
pravoslavny, 101.
Preobrajenski, 194.
Prokopovitch, 101.
Prosphora, 123.
Protestantism, 166, 173, 226, 252.

Ragojski, 189, 191.
Railways, 7, 28, 42, 223.
Raskol, 181–192, 210, 226.
Raskol, Moscow, 103, 190.
Ravachol, 43.
Real Presence, 116, 127,
Relics, 125.
Rurik, 32, 33, 91.

Sacraments, 113.
samovar, 69.
Saraï, 34.
Sarof, 168.
Saxons, 33.
Scandinavians, 32.
Sectaries, 171.
Seraphim, S., 168.
Serfs, serfdom, 12, 25, 54, 136.
Serge, S., 36, 146, 165, 168.
Sermons, 137.
Sineus, 32.
Skoptsy, 182, 211, 213.
Slavs, 23, 31–33, 43, 88, 92, 130.
Slayes, 23, 130.
Smolensk, 94, 126.
Soldiers, 53, 185, 197, 205.

Solovietsky, 110, 185, 190.
starchi, 19.
Staraboudié, 189, 212.
Staroobriadtsy, 184, 190.
starost, 137, 158, 159.
Starovéry, 184, 188, 191.
Steppes, 5, 23, 84.
Steward, 20, 26.
Streltsi, 185.
Suicides, 192–198, 210, 213.
Surplice fees, 134.
svachchenik, 132, 135, 156, 157, 163.
Synod, The Holy, 144, 161–164.

Tambof, 6, 19, 168.
Tartars, 34, 35, 93, 215, 219.
Tchernaziom, 6, 226.
tchin, 37, 38.
tchinovnik, 158.
Tea, 27, 67, 78.
Tramway, 80.
Trans-Siberian railway, 25, 42.
Trans-substantiation, 122.
Troitza Lavra, 36, 146, 168.
Trouvor, 32.
trust, 33.
Tsushima, 43.

Ukraine, 25.
Unction of Sick, 118.
Ural Mountains, 25.
Uspensky Sabor, 103, 105, 110.

Vaillant, 43.
Varangians, 32, 33, 92, 93.
Varlaam, 148.
Venice, 32.
Vetka, Isle of, 189.
Vetkovski, 189.
Viborg, 45, 46.
Vladimir, 94, 126.
Vladimir, S., 91, 92, 164, 238.
Vladivostok, 42.
vodka, 57.
Volga, 34, 82.
Volkhov, 32.
volost, 31.

zabastovka, 83.
zemskié natchalniki, 30.
Zemstvos, 30, 134.
Zola, 65.

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